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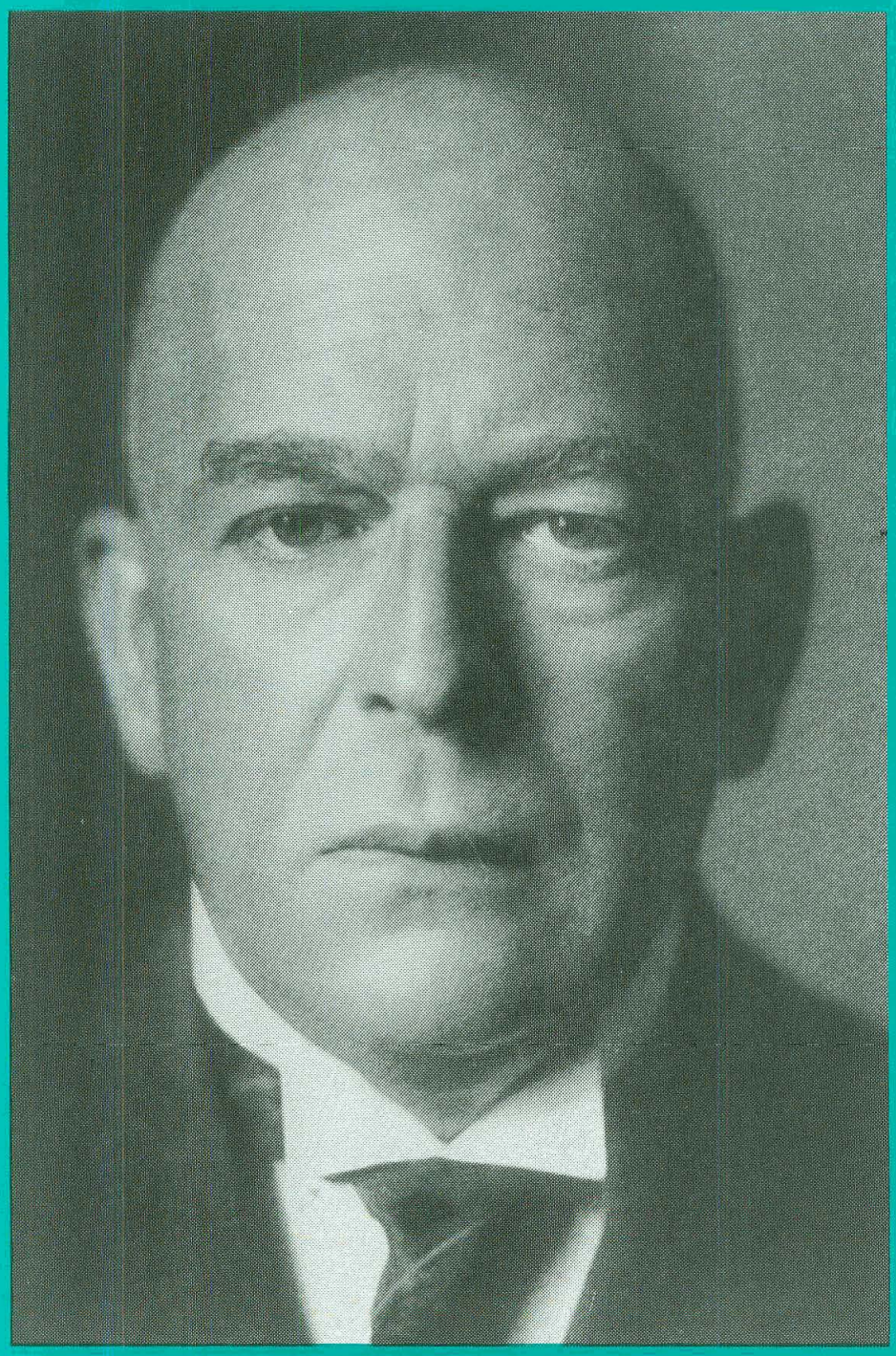

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On the cover: Oswald Spengler in 1935.

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Oswald Spengler: An Introduction to his Life and Ideas

KEITH STIMELY

Oswald Spengler was born in Blankenburg (Harz) in central Germany in 1880, the eldest of four children, and the only boy. His mother's side of the family was quite artistically bent. His father, who had originally been a mining technician and came from a long line of mineworkers, was an official in the German postal bureaucracy, and he provided his family with a simple but comfortable middle class home.

The young Oswald never enjoyed the best of health, and suffered from migraine headaches that were to plague him all his life. He also had an anxiety complex, though he was not without grandiose thoughts — which because of his frail constitution had to be acted out in daydreams only.

When he was ten the family moved to the university city of Halle. Here Spengler received a classical *Gymnasium* education, studying Greek, Latin, mathematics and natural sciences. Here too he developed his strong affinity for the arts — especially poetry, drama, and music. He tried his hand at some youthful artistic creations of his own, a few of which have survived — they are indicative of a tremendous enthusiasm but not much else. At this time also he came under the influence of Goethe and Nietzsche, two figures whose importance to Spengler the youth and the man cannot be overestimated.

After his father's death in 1901, Spengler at 21 entered the University of Munich. In accordance with German student-custom of the time, after a year he proceeded to other universities, first Berlin and then Halle. His main courses of study were in the classical cultures, mathematics, and the physical sciences. His university education was financed in large part by a legacy from a deceased aunt.

His doctoral dissertation at Halle was on Heraclitus, the "dark philosopher" of ancient Greece whose most memorable line was "War is the Father of all things." He failed to pass his first examination because of "insufficient references" — a characteristic of all his later writings that some critics took a great delight in pointing out. However, he passed a second examination in 1904, and then set to writing the secondary dissertation necessary to qualify as a high school teacher. This became *The Development of the Organ of Sight in the Higher Realms of the Animal Kingdom*. It was approved, and Spengler received his teaching certificate.

His first post was at a school in Saarbrücken. Then he moved to Düsseldorf and, finally, Hamburg. He taught mathematics, physical sciences, history, and German literature, and by all accounts was a good and conscientious instructor. But his heart was not really in it, and when in 1911 the opportunity presented itself for him to "go his own way" (his mother had died and left him an inheritance that guaranteed him a measure of financial independence), he took it, and left the teaching profession for good.

Historical Explanation of Current Trends

He settled in Munich, there to live the life of an independent scholar/philosopher. He began the writing of a book of observations on contemporary politics whose idea had preoccupied him for some time. Originally to be titled *Conservative and Liberal*, it was planned as an exposition and explanation of the current trends in Europe — an accelerating arms race, Entente "encirclement" of Germany, a succession of international crises, increasing polarity of the nations — and where they were leading. However in late 1911 he was suddenly struck by the notion that the events of the day could only be interpreted in "global" and "*total*-cultural"

Keith Stimely was born on April 9, 1957, in Connecticut, but grew up and was educated on the West coast. He studied at San Jose State University and the University of Oregon, from where he graduated in 1980 with a bachelor's degree in history. (This essay was written in December 1978 for a University of Oregon history class.) Stimely then joined the US Army, serving as a reserve officer. His interest in revisionist history began in high school, and in 1980 he spoke at the second IHR Conference (Pomona College). He joined this *Journal*'s editorial staff in June 1982, and served as its chief editor from February 1983 until February 1985. He compiled the *1981 Revisionist Bibliography* (no longer in print), and was a gifted artist and pianist. He died in Portland, Oregon, on December 19, 1992.

terms. He saw Europe as marching off to suicide, a first step toward the final demise of European culture in the world and in history.

The Great War of 1914-1918 only confirmed in his mind the validity of a thesis already developed. His planned work kept increasing in scope far, far beyond the original bounds.

Spengler had tied up most of his money in foreign investments, but the war had largely invalidated them, and he was forced to live out the war years in conditions of genuine poverty. Nevertheless he kept at his work, often writing by candle-light, and in 1917 was ready to publish. He encountered great difficulty in finding a publisher, partly because of the nature of the work, partly because of the chaotic conditions prevailing at the time. However in the summer of 1918, coincident with the German collapse, finally appeared the first volume of *The Decline of the West,* subtitled *Form and Actuality.*

Publishing Success

To no little surprise on the part of both Spengler and his publisher, the book was an immediate and unprecedented success. It offered a rational explanation for the great European disaster, explaining it as part of an inevitable world-historic process. German readers especially took it to heart, but the work soon proved popular throughout Europe and was quickly translated into other languages. Nineteen-nineteen was "Spengler's year," and his name was on many tongues.

Professional historians, however, took great umbrage at this pretentious work by an amateur (Spengler was not a trained historian), and their criticisms — particularly of numerous errors of fact and the unique and unapologetic "non-scientific" approach of the author — filled many pages. It is easier now than it was then to dispose of this line of rejection-criticism. Anyway, with regard to the validity of his postulate of rapid Western decline, the contemporary Spenglerian need only say to these critics: Look about you. What do you see?

In 1922 Spengler issued a revised edition of the first volume containing minor corrections and revisions, and the year after saw the appearance of the second volume, subtitled *Perspectives of World History.* He thereafter remained satisfied with the work, and all his later writings and pronouncements are only enlargements upon the theme he laid out *Decline*.

A Direct Approach

The basic idea and essential components of *The Decline of the West* are not difficult to understand or delineate. (In fact, it is the work's very simplicity that was too much for his professional critics.) First,

Oswald Spengler in 1935, a year before his death. His work was praised by American scholar Revilo Oliver as "the great intellectual achievement of our century."

though, a proper understanding requires a recognition of Spengler's special approach to history. He himself called it the "physiogmatic" approach — looking things directly in the face or heart, intuitively, rather than strictly scientifically. Too often the real meaning of things is obscured by a mask of scientific-mechanistic "facts." Hence the blindness of the professional "scientist-type" historians, who in a grand lack of imagination see only the visible.

Utilizing his physiogmatic approach, Spengler was confident of his ability to decipher the riddle of History — even, as he states in *Decline's* very first sentence, to predetermine history.

The following are his basic postulates:

1. The "linear" view of history must be rejected,

in favor of the cyclical. Heretofore history, especially Western history, had been viewed as a "linear" progression from lower to higher, like rungs on a ladder — an unlimited evolution upward. Western history is thus viewed as developing progressively: Greek → Roman → Medieval → Renaissance → Modern, or, Ancient → Medieval → Modern. This concept, Spengler insisted, is only a product of Western man's ego — as if everything in the past pointed to him, existed so that he might exist as a yet-more perfected form.

This "incredibly jejune and *meaningless* scheme" can at last be replaced by one now discernible from the vantage-point of years and a greater and more fundamental knowledge of the past: the notion of History as moving in definite, observable, and — except in minor ways — unrelated *cycles*.

'High Cultures'

2. The cyclical movements of history are not those of mere nations, states, races, or events, but of High Cultures. Recorded history gives us eight such "high cultures": the Indian, the Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Chinese, the Mexican (Mayan-Aztec), the Arabian (or "Magian"), the Classical (Greece and Rome), and the European-Western.

Spengler at about age 30

Each High Culture has as a distinguishing feature a "prime symbol." The Egyptian symbol, for example, was the "Way" or "Path," which can be seen in the ancient Egyptians' preoccupation — in religion, art, and architecture (the pyramids) — with the sequential passages of the soul. The prime symbol of the Classical culture was the "point-present" concern, that is, the fascination with the nearby, the small, the "space" of immediate and logical visibility: note here Euclidean geometry, the two-dimensional style of Classical painting and relief-sculpture (you will never see a vanishing point in the background, that is, where there is a background at all), and especially: the lack of facial expression of Grecian busts and statues, signifying nothing behind or beyond the outward.

The prime symbol of Western culture is the "Faustian Soul" (from the tale of Doctor Faustus), symbolizing the upward reaching for nothing less than the "Infinite." This is basically a *tragic* symbol, for it reaches for what even the reacher knows is unreachable. It is exemplified, for instance, by Gothic architecture (especially the interiors of Gothic cathedrals, with their vertical lines and seeming "ceilinglessness").

The "prime symbol" effects *everything* in the Culture, manifesting itself in art, science, technics and politics. Each Culture's symbol-soul expresses itself especially in its art, and each Culture has an art form that is most representative of its own symbol. In the Classical, they were sculpture and drama. In Western culture, after architecture in the Gothic era, the great representative form was music — actually the pluperfect expression of the Faustian soul, transcending as it does the limits of sight for the "limitless" world of sound.

'Organic' Development

3. High Cultures are "living" things — *organic* in nature — and must pass through the stages of birth-development-fulfillment-decay-death. Hence a "morphology" of history. All previous cultures have passed through these distinct stages, and Western culture can be no exception. In fact, its present stage in the organic development-process can be pinpointed.

The high-water mark of a High Culture is its phase of fulfillment — called the "culture" phase. The beginning of decline and decay in a Culture is the transition point between its "culture" phase and the "civilization" phase that inevitably follows.

The "civilization" phase witnesses drastic social upheavals, mass movements of peoples, continual wars and constant crises. All this takes place along with the growth of the great "megalopolis" — huge urban and suburban centers that sap the surrounding countrysides of their vitality, intellect, strength, and soul. The inhabitants of these urban conglomerations — now the bulk of the populace — are a rootless, soulless, godless, and materialistic mass, who love nothing more than their *panem et circenses*. From these come the subhuman "fellaheen" — fitting participants in the dying-out of a culture.

With the civilization phase comes the rule of Money and its twin tools, Democracy and the Press. Money rules over the chaos, and only Money profits by it. But the true bearers of the culture — the men whose souls are still one with the culture-soul — are disgusted and repelled by the Money-power and its fellaheen, and act to break it, as they are compelled to do so — and as the mass culture-soul compels finally the end of the dictatorship of money. Thus the civilization phase concludes with the Age of Caesarism, in which great power come into the hands of great men, helped in this by the chaos of late Money-rule. The advent of the Caesars marks the return of Authority and Duty, of Honor and "Blood,"

and the end of democracy.

With this arrives the "imperialistic" stage of civilization, in which the Caesars with their bands of followers battle each other for control of the earth. The great masses are uncomprehending and uncaring; the megalopoli slowly depopulate, and the masses gradually "return to the land," to busy themselves there with the same soil-tasks as their ancestors centuries before. The turmoil of events goes on above their heads. Now, amidst all the chaos of the times, there comes a "second religiosity"; a longing return to the old symbols of the faith of the culture. Fortified thus, the masses in a kind of resigned contentment bury their souls and their efforts into the soil from which they and their culture sprang, and against this background the dying of the Culture and the civilization it created is played out.

Predictable Life Cycles

Every Culture's life-span can be seen to last about a thousand years: The Classical existed from 900 BC to 100 AD; the Arabian (Hebraic-semitic Christian-Islamic) from 100 BC to 900 AD; the Western from 1000 AD to 2000 AD. However, this span is the ideal, in the sense that a man's ideal life-span is 70 years, though he may never reach that age, or may live well beyond it. The death of a Culture may in fact be played out over hundreds of years, or it may occur instantaneously because of outer forces — as in the sudden end of the Mexican Culture.

Also, though every culture has its unique Soul and is in essence a special and separate entity, the development of the life cycle is paralleled in all of them: For each phase of the cycle in a given Culture, and for all great events affecting its course, there is a counterpart in the history of every other culture. Thus, Napoleon, who ushered in the civilization phase of the Western, finds his counterpart in Alexander of Macedon, who did the same for the Classical. Hence the "contemporaneousness" of all high cultures.

In barest outline these are the essential components of Spengler's theory of historical Culture-cycles. In a few sentences it might be summed up:

> Human history is the cyclical record of the rise and fall of unrelated High Cultures. These Cultures are in reality super life-forms, that is, they are organic in nature, and like all organisms must pass through the phases of birth-life-death. Though separate entities in themselves, all High Cultures experience parallel development, and events and phases in any one find their corresponding events and phases in the others. It is possible from the vantage point of the twentieth century to glean from the past the meaning of cyclic history, and thus to predict the decline and fall of the West.

Needless to say, such a theory — though somewhat heralded in the work of Giambattista Vico and the 19th-century Russian Nikolai Danilevsky, as well as in Nietzsche — was destined to shake the foundations of the intellectual and semi-intellectual world. It did so in short order, partly owing to its felicitous timing, and partly to the brilliance (though not unflawed) with which Spengler presented it.

Polemic Style

There are easier books to read than *Decline* — there are also harder — but a big reason for its unprecedented (for such a work) popular success was the same reason for its by-and-large dismissal by the learned critics: its style. Scorning the type of "learnedness" that demanded only cautionary and judicious statements — every one backed by a footnote — Spengler gave freewheeling vent to his opinions and judgments. Many passages are in the style of a polemic, from which no disagreement can be brooked.

To be sure, the two volumes of *Decline*, no matter the opinionated style and unconventional methodology, are essentially a comprehensive justification of the ideas presented, drawn from the histories of the different High Cultures. He used the comparative method which, of course, is appropriate if indeed all the phases of a High Culture are contemporaneous with those of any other. No one man could possibly have an equally comprehensive knowledge of all the Cultures surveyed, hence Spengler's treatment is uneven, and he spends relatively little time on the Mexican, Indian, Egyptian, Babylonian, and Chinese — concentrating on the Arabian, Classical, and Western, especially these last two. The most valuable portion of the work, as even his critics acknowledge, is his comparative delineation of the parallel developments of the Classical and Western cultures.

Spengler's vast knowledge of the arts allowed him to place learned emphasis on their importance to the symbolism and inner meaning of a Culture, and the passages on art forms are generally regarded as being among the more thought-provoking. Also eyebrow-raising is a chapter (the very first, in fact, after the Introduction) on "The Meaning of Numbers," in which he asserted that even mathematics — supposedly the one certain "universal" field of knowledge — has a different meaning in different cultures: numbers are relative to the people who use them.

"Truth" is likewise relative, and Spengler conceded that what was true for him might not be true for another — even another wholly of the same cul-

Keith Stimely and Robert Faurisson at the Fifth IHR Conference (1983)

ture and era. Thus Spengler's greatest breakthrough may perhaps be his postulation of the non-universality of things, the "differentness" or distinctiveness of different people and cultures (despite their fated common end) — an idea that is beginning to take hold in the modern West, which started this century supremely confident of the wisdom and possibility of making the world over in its image.

Age of Caesars

But is was his placing of the current West into his historical scheme that aroused the most interest and the most controversy. Spengler, as the title of his work suggests, saw the West as doomed to the same eventual extinction that all the other High Cultures had faced. The West, he said, was now in the middle of its "civilization" phase, which had begun, roughly, with Napoleon. The coming of the Caesars (of which Napoleon was only a foreshadowing) was perhaps only decades away. Yet Spengler did not counsel any kind of sighing resignation to fate, or blithe acceptance of coming defeat and death. In a later essay, *Pessimism?* (1922), he wrote that the men of the West must still be men, and do all they could to realize the immense possibilities still open to them. Above all, they must embrace the one absolute imperative: The destruction of Money and democracy, especially in the field of politics, that grand and all-encompassing field of endeavor.

'Prussian' Socialism

After the publication of the first volume of *Decline*, Spengler's thoughts turned increasingly to contemporary politics in Germany. After experiencing the Bavarian revolution and its short-lived Soviet republic, he wrote a slender volume titled *Prussianism and Socialism*. Its theme was that a tragic misunderstanding of the concepts was at work: Conservatives and socialists, instead of being at loggerheads, should united under the banner of a true socialism. This was not the Marxist-materialist abomination, he said, but essentially the same thing as Prussianism: a socialism of the German community, based on its unique work ethic, discipline, and organic rank instead of "money." This "Prussian" socialism he sharply contrasted both to the capitalistic ethic of England and the "socialism" of Marx (!), whose theories amounted to "capitalism for the proletariat."

In his corporate state proposals Spengler anticipated the Fascists, although he never was one, and his "socialism" was essentially that of the National Socialists (but without the folkish racialism). His early appraisal of a corporation for which the State would have directional control but not ownership of or direct responsibility for the various private segments of the economy sounded much like Werner Sombart's later favorable review of National Socialist economics in his *A New Social Philosophy* [Princeton Univ. Press, 1937; translation of *Deutscher Sozialismus* (1934)].

Prussianism and Socialism did not meet with a favorable reaction from the critics or the public — eager though the public had been, at first, to learn his views. The book's message was considered to "visionary" and eccentric — it cut across too many party lines. The years 1920-23 saw Spengler retreat into a preoccupation with the revision of the first volume of *Decline*, and the completion of the second. He did occasionally give lectures, and wrote some essays, only a few of which have survived.

Political Involvement

In 1924, following the social-economic upheaval of the terrible inflation, Spengler entered the political fray in an effort to bring Reichswehr general Hans von Seekt to power as the country's leader. But the effort came to naught. Spengler proved totally ineffective in practical politics. It was the old story of the would-be "philosopher-king," who was more philosopher than king (or king-maker).

After 1925, at the start of Weimar Germany's all-too-brief period of relative stability, Spengler devoted most of his time to his research and writing. He was particularly concerned that he had left an important gap in his great work — that of the prehistory of man. In *Decline* he had written that prehistoric man was basically without a history, but he revised that opinion. His work on the subject was only fragmentary, but 30 years after his death a

compilation was published under the title *Early Period of World History.*

His main task as he saw it, however, was a grand and all-encompassing work on his metaphysics — of which *Decline* had only given hints. He never did finish this, though *Fundamental Questions*, in the main a collection of aphorisms on the subject, was published in 1965.

In 1931 he published *Man and Technics*, a book that reflected his fascination with the development and usage, past and future, of the technical. The development of advanced technology is unique to the West, and he predicted where it would lead. *Man and Technics* is a racialist book, though not in a narrow "Germanic" sense. Rather it warns the European or white races of the pressing danger from the outer Colored races. It predicts a time when the Colored peoples of the earth will use the very technology of the West to destroy the West.

Reservations About Hitler

There is much in Spengler's thinking that permits one to characterize him as a kind of "proto-Nazi": his call for a return to Authority, his hatred of "decadent" democracy, his exaltation of the spirit of "Prussianism," his idea of war as essential to life. However, he never joined the National Socialist party, despite the repeated entreaties of such NS luminaries as Gregor Strasser and Ernst Hanfstängl. He regarded the National Socialists as immature, fascinated with marching bands and patriotic slogans, playing with the bauble of power but not realizing the philosophical significance and new imperatives of the age. Of Hitler he supposed to have said that what Germany needed was a hero, not a heroic tenor. Still, he did vote for Hitler against Hindenburg in the 1932 election. He met Hitler in person only once, in July 1933, but Spengler came away unimpressed from their lengthy discussion.

His views about the National Socialists and the direction Germany should properly be taking surfaced in late 1933, in his book *The Hour of Decision* [translation of *Die Jahre der Entscheidung*]. He began it by stating that no one could have looked forward to the National Socialist revolution with greater longing than he. In the course of the work, though, he expressed (sometimes in veiled form) his reservations about the new regime. Germanophile though he certainly was, nevertheless he viewed the National Socialists as too narrowly German in character, and not sufficiently European.

Although he continued the racialist tone of *Man and Technics*, Spengler belittled what he regarded as the exclusiveness of the National Socialist concept of race. In the face of the outer danger, what should be emphasized is the unity of the various European races, not their fragmentation. Beyond a matter-of-fact recognition of the "colored peril" and the superiority of white civilization, Spengler repeated his own "non-materialist" concept of race (which he had already expressed in *Decline*): Certain men — of whatever ancestry — *have* "race" (a kind of will-to-power), and these are the makers of history.

Predicting a second world war, Spengler warned in *Hour of Decision* that the National Socialists were not sufficiently watchful of the powerful hostile forces outside the country that would mobilize to destroy them, and Germany. His most direct criticism was phrased in this way: "And the National Socialists believe that they can afford to ignore the world or oppose it, and build their castles-in-the-air without creating a possibly silent, but very palpable reaction from abroad." Finally, but after it had already achieved a wide circulation, the authorities prohibited the book's further distribution.

Oswald Spengler, shortly after predicting that in a decade there would no longer be a German Reich, died of a heart attack on May 8, 1936, in his Munich apartment. He went to his death convinced that he had been right, and that events were unfolding in fulfillment of what he had written in *The Decline of the West*. He was certain that he lived in the twilight period of his Culture — which, despite his foreboding and gloomy pronouncements, he loved and cared for deeply to the very end.

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Aphorisms: From the Writings of Oswald Spengler

Even a good idea is worth little when it is expressed by a blockhead.

Man makes history; woman is history. The reproduction of the species is feminine: it runs steadily and quietly through all species, animal or human, through all short-lived cultures. It is primary, unchanging, everlasting, maternal, plantlike, and cultureless. If we look back we find that it is synonymous with life itself.

It doesn't really matter what one writes into a constitution. The important thing is what the collective instinct eventually makes of it.

Little as we know about the events of the future, one thing is certain: the moving forces of the future will be none other than those of the past — the will of the stronger, healthy instincts, race, will to property, and power.

The question of whether world peace will ever be possible can only be answered by someone familiar with world history. To be familiar with world history means, however, to know human beings as they have been and always will be. There is a vast difference, which most people will never comprehend, between viewing future history as it will be and viewing it as one might like it to be. Peace is a desire, war is a fact; and history has never paid heed to human desires and ideals ...

Talk of world peace is heard today only among the white peoples, and not among the much more numerous colored races. This is a perilous state of affairs. When individual thinkers and idealists talk of peace, as they have done since time immemorial, the effect is negligible. But when whole peoples become pacifistic it is a symptom of senility. Strong and unspent races are not pacifistic. To adopt such a position is to abandon the future, for the pacifist ideal is a terminal condition that is contrary to the basic facts of existence. As long as man continues to evolve, there will be wars ...

Pacifism means letting the non-pacifists have control ... Pacifism will remain an ideal, war a fact. If the white races are resolved never to wage war again, the colored will act differently and become rulers of the world.

Society is based on the inequality of men. This is a fact of nature.

Men are tired of money-economy. They hope for salvation from somewhere or other, for some real thing of honor and chivalry, of inward nobility, of unselfishness and duty.

The life of the individual is important to no one but himself; the point is whether he attempts to escape from history or give his life to it. History takes no heed of human logic.

The wealth of birth in primitive populations is a natural phenomenon, the very existence of which no one thinks about, let alone its advantages or disadvantages. Where reasons for questioning the existence of life enter the human consciousness, life itself has already become questionable.

Who would have thought that history lessons and the political education of the people are one and the same?

When a nation rises up to fight for its freedom and honor, it is always a minority that inspires the masses.

Suddenly all those individuals who yesterday felt that "we" meant only their families, their professions, or perhaps their communities, become men of the nation. Their emotions and thoughts, their egos, that "something" within them, all are transformed: they have become historical.

There has never been a healthy economy without a strong political base, although the theory of materialism teaches the opposite.

Enthusiasm is a virtue for followers, a vice for leaders. Intelligence is more important than inspiration.

The great man lives in such a way that his existence is a sacrifice to his idea.

This is our task: to make as meaningful as possible this life that has been bestowed upon us, this reality with which fate has surrounded us; to live in such a way that we may be proud of ourselves; to act in such a way that some part of us lives on.

The essence of religion is perhaps most clearly recognized in what it does not tolerate.

The highest virtues attainable are heroism and saintliness: great affirmation or great renunciation.

The hero is indifferent to death and the saint indifferent to life.

The Last Judgment is a beautiful idea. And if we do not believe in it, we should still live in such a way that we could pass the test.

Happiness is unexpected, rare, unlikely, brief and blindly appreciated. The less men have brooded about the nature of happiness, or their right to it, the happier they have been.

Animals and primitive men are neither perverse nor licentious. Their Eros is in rhythmic harmony with the universe... Only civilization has made a problem of erotism, converted it into unrestrained greed.

Life is wealthy enough to waste individuals. Countless seeds, embryos, and children perish, often the best ones. All that matters is that enough remain to keep the species from dying out.

The common man wants nothing of life but health, longevity, amusement, comfort — "happiness." He who does not despise this should turn his eyes from world history, for it contains nothing of the sort. The best that history has created is great suffering.

In history it is not idealism, goodness or morality that reign — their kingdom is not of this world — but rather resolve, energy, presence of mind, and practical ability. One cannot erase this fact with laments and moral judgments. That is the way man is; that is the way life is; that is way history is.

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Oswald Spengler: Criticism and Tribute

Revilo P. Oliver

Conceived before the First World War is Oswald Spengler's magisterial work, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (Munich, 1918). Read in this country chiefly in the brilliantly faithful translation by Charles Francis Atkinson, *The Decline of the West* (New York, two volumes, 1926-28), Spengler's morphology of history was the great intellectual achievement of our century. Whatever our opinion of his methods or conclusions, we cannot deny that he was the Copernicus of historionomy. All subsequent writings on the philosophy of history may fairly be described as criticism of the *Decline of the West*.

Spengler, having formulated a universal history, undertook an analysis of the forces operating in the immediately contemporary world. This he set forth in a masterly work, *Die Jahre der Entscheidung*, of which only the first volume could be published in Germany (Munich, 1933) and translated into English (*The Hour of Decision*, New York, 1934). One had only to read this brilliant work, with its lucid analysis of forces that even acute observers did not perceive until 25 or 30 years later, and with its prevision that subsequent events have now shown to have been absolutely correct, to recognize that its author was one of the great political and philosophical minds of the West. One should remember, however, that the amazing accuracy of his analysis of the contemporary situation does not necessarily prove the validity of his historical morphology.

The publication of Spengler's first volume in 1918 released a spate of controversy that continues to the present day. Manfred Schroeter in *Der Streit um Spengler* (Munich, 1922) was able to give a précis of the critiques that had appeared in a little more than three years; today, a mere bibliography, if reasonably complete, would take years to compile and would probably run to eight hundred or a thousand printed pages.

Spengler naturally stirred up swarms of nitwits, who were particularly incensed by his immoral and preposterous suggestion that there could be another war in Europe, when everybody knew that there just couldn't be anything but World Peace after 1918, 'cause Santa had just brought a nice, new, shiny "League of Nations." Such "liberal" chatterboxes are always making a noise, but no one with the slightest knowledge of human history pays any attention to them, except as symptoms.

Unfortunately, much more intelligent criticism of Spengler was motivated by emotional dissatisfaction with his conclusions. In an article in *Antiquity* for 1927, the learned R.S. Collingwood of Oxford went so far as to claim that Spengler's two volumes had not given him "a single genuinely new idea," and that he had "long ago carried out for himself" — and, of course, rejected — even Spengler's detailed analyses of individual cultures. As a cursory glance at Spengler's work will suffice to show, that assertion is less plausible than a claim to know *everything* contained in the Twelfth Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Collingwood, the author of the *Speculum Mentis* and other philosophical works, must have been bedeviled with emotional resentments so strong that he could not see how conceited, arrogant and improbable his vaunt would seem to most readers.

It is now a truism that Spengler's "pessimism" and "fatalism" was an unbearable shock to minds nurtured in the Nineteenth-century illusion that everything would get better and better forever and ever. Spengler's cyclic interpretation of history stated that a civilization was an organism having a definite and fixed life-span and moving from infancy to senescence and death by an internal necessity comparable to the biological necessity that decrees the development of the human organism from infantile imbecility to senile decrepitude. Napoleon, for example, was the counterpart of Alexander in the ancient world.

We were now, therefore, in a phase of civilizational life in which constitutional forms are supplanted by the prestige of individuals. By 2000, we shall be "contemporary" with the Rome of Sulla, the Egypt of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and China at the time when the "Contending States" were welded

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Revilo P. Oliver, a scholar of international stature, taught Classics at the University of Illinois for 32 years. From 1980 until his death in August 1994, he was a member of this *Journal*'s Editorial Advisory Committee. For more about Dr. Oliver, see the memorial tribute to him in the Sept.-Oct. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 19-20. This essay, originally written in 1963, is reprinted from the anthology *America's Decline: The Education of a Conservative* (1982), pp. 193-200.

into an empire. That means that we face an age of world wars and what is worse, civil wars and proscriptions, and that around 2060 the West (if not destroyed by its alien enemies) will be united under the personal rule of a Caesar or Augustus. That is not a pleasant prospect.

Greatness or Optimism

The *only* question before us, however, is whether Spengler is correct in his analysis. Rational men will regard as irrelevant the fact that his conclusions are not charming. If a physician informs you that you have symptoms of arteriosclerosis, he may or may not be right in his diagnosis, but it is absolutely certain that you cannot rejuvenate yourself by slapping his face.

Every detached observer of our times, I think, will agree that Spengler's "pessimism" aroused emotions that precluded rational consideration. I am inclined to believe that the *moral* level of his thinking was a greater obstacle. His "fatalism" was not the comforting kind that permits men to throw up their hands and eschew responsibilities. Consider, for example, the concluding lines of his *Men and Technics* (New York, 1932):

> Already the danger is so great, for every individual, every class, every people, that to cherish any illusion whatever is deplorable. Time does not suffer itself to be halted; there is no question of prudent retreat or wise renunciation. Only dreamers believe that there is a way out. Optimism is *cowardice*.
>
> We are born into this time and must bravely follow the path to the destined end. There is no other way. Our duty is to hold on to the lost position, without hope, without rescue, like that Roman soldier whose bones were found in front of a door in Pompeii, who, during the eruption of Vesuvius, died at his post because they forgot to relieve him. That is greatness. That is what it means to be a thoroughbred. The honorable end is the one thing that can *not* be taken from a man.

Now, whether or not the stern prognostication that lies back of that conclusion is correct, no *man* fit to live in the present can read those lines without feeling his heart lifted by the great ethos of a noble culture — the spiritual strength of the West that can know tragedy and be unafraid. And simultaneously, that pronouncement will affright to hysteria the epicene homunculi among us, the puling cowards who hope only to scuttle about safely in the darkness and to batten on the decay of a culture infinitely beyond their comprehension.

That contrast is in itself a very significant datum

Revilo P. Oliver

for an estimate of the present condition of our civilization...

Three Points of Criticism

Criticism of Spengler, therefore, if it is not to seem mere quibbling about details, must deal with major premises. Now, so far as I can see, Spengler's thesis can be challenged at three really fundamental points, namely:

(1) Spengler regards each civilization as a closed and isolated entity animated by a dominant idea, or *Weltanschauung*, that is its "soul." Why should ideas, or concepts, the impalpable creations of the human mind, undergo an organic evolution as though they were living protoplasm, which, as a material substance, is understandably subject to chemical change and hence biological laws? This logical objection is not conclusive: Men may observe the tides, for example, and even predict them, without being able to explain what causes them. But when we must deduce historical laws from the four of five civilizations of which we have some fairly accurate knowledge, we do not have enough repetitions of a phenomenon to calculate its periodicity with assurance, if we do not know why it happens.

(2) A far graver difficulty arises from the historical fact that we have already mentioned. For five centuries, at least, the men of the West regarded modern civilization as a revival or prolongation of Graeco-Roman antiquity. Spengler, as the very basis of his hypothesis, regards the Classical world as a civilization distinct from, and alien to, our own — a civilization that, like the Egyptian, lived, died, and is now gone. It was dominated by an entirely different *Weltanschauung*, and consequently the educated men of Europe and America, who for five centuries believed in continuity, were merely suffering from an illusion or hallucination.

Even if we grant that, however, we are still con-

fronted by a *unique* historical phenomenon. The Egyptian, Babylonian, Chinese, Hindu, and Arabian ("Magian"), civilizations are all regarded by Spengler (and other proponents of an organic structure of culture) as single and unrelated organisms: Each came into being without deriving its concepts from another civilization (or, alternatively, seeing its own concepts in the records of an earlier civilization), and each died leaving no offspring (or, alternatively, no subsequent civilization thought to see in them its own concepts). There is simply no parallel or precedent for the relationship (real or imaginary) which links Graeco-Roman culture to our own.

Since Spengler wrote, a great historical discovery has further complicated the question. We now know that the Mycenaean peoples were Greeks, and it is virtually certain that the essentials of their culture survived the disintegration caused by the Dorian invasion, and were the basis of later Greek culture. (For a good summary, see Leonard R. Palmer, *Mycenaeans and Minoans*, London, 1961). We therefore have a sequence that is, so far as we know, unique:

Mycenaean → Dark Ages → Graeco-Roman → Dark Ages → Modern. If this is one civilization, it has had a creative life-span far longer than that of any other that has thus far appeared in the world. If it is more than one, the interrelations form an exception to Spengler's general law, and suggest the possibility that a civilization, if it dies by some kind of quasi-biological process, may in some cases have a quasi-biological power of reproduction.

The exception becomes even more remarkable if we, unlike Spengler, regard as fundamentally important the concept of self-government, which may have been present even in Mycenaean times (see L. R. Palmer, *Mycenaeans and Minoans*, cited above, p. 97). Democracies and constitutional republics are found only in the Graeco-Roman world and our own; such institutions seem to have been incomprehensible to other cultures.

(3) For all practical purposes, Spengler ignores hereditary and racial differences. He even uses the word "race" to represent a qualitative difference between members of what we should call the same race, and he denies that that difference is to any significant extent caused by heredity. He regards biological races as plastic and mutable, even in their physical characteristics, under the influence of geographical factors (including the soil, which is said to affect the physical organism through food) and of what Spengler terms "a mysterious cosmic force" that has nothing to do with biology. The only real unity is cultural, that is, the fundamental ideas and beliefs shared by the peoples who form a civilization. Thus Spengler, who makes those ideas subject to quasi-biological growth and decay, oddly rejects as insignificant the findings of biological science concerning living organisms.

It is true, of course, that man is in part a spiritual being. Of that, persons who have a religious faith need no assurance. Others, unless they are determined blindly to deny the evidence before us, must admit the existence of phenomena of the kind described by Franz E. Winkler, M.D., in *Man the Bridge Between Two Worlds* (New York, Harper, 1960), and, of course, by many other writers. And every historian knows that no one of the higher cultures could conceivably have come into being, if human beings are merely animals.

But it is also true that the science of genetics, founded by Father Mendel only a century ago and almost totally neglected down to the early years of the Twentieth Century, has ascertained biological laws that can be denied only by denying the reality of the physical world. Every educated person knows that the color of a man's eyes, the shape of the lobes of his ears, and every one of his other physiological characteristics is determined by hereditary factors. It is virtually certain that intellectual capacity is likewise produced by inheritance, and there is a fair amount of evidence that indicated that even moral capacities are likewise innate.

Man's power of intervention in the development of inherited qualities appears to be entirely negative, thus affording another melancholy proof that human ingenuity can easily destroy what it can never create. Any fool with a knife can in three minutes make the most beautiful woman forever hideous, and one of our "mental health experts," even without using a knife, can as quickly and permanently destroy the finest intellect. And it appears that less drastic interventions, through education and other control of environment, may temporarily or even permanently pervert and deform, but are powerless to create capacities that an individual did not inherit from near or more remote ancestors.

The facts are beyond question, although the Secret Police in Soviet Russia and "liberal" spitting-squads in the United States have largely succeeded in keeping these facts from the general public in the areas they control. But no amount of terrorism can alter the laws of nature. For a readable exposition of genetics, see Garrett Hardin's *Nature and Man's Fate* (New York, Rinehart, 1959), which is subject only to the reservation that the laws of genetics, like the laws of chemistry, are verified by observation every day, whereas the doctrine of biological evolution is necessarily an hypothesis that cannot be verified by experiment.

The Race Factor

It is also beyond question that the races of mankind differ greatly in physical appearance, in sus-

ceptibility to specific diseases, and in average intellectual capacity. There are indications that they differ also in nervous organization, and possibly, in moral instincts. It would be a miracle if that were not so, for, as is well known, the three primary races were distinct and separate at the time that intelligent men first appeared on this planet, and have so remained ever since. The differences are so pronounced and stable that the proponents of biological evolution are finding it more and more necessary to postulate that the differences go back to species that preceded the appearance of the *homo sapiens*. (See the new and revised edition of Dr. Carleton S. Coon's *The Story of Man*, New York, Knopf, 1962).

That such differences exist is doubtless deplorable. It is certainly deplorable that all men must die, and there are persons who think it deplorable that there are differences, both anatomical and spiritual between men and women. However, no amount of concerted lying by "liberals," and no amount of decreeing by the Warren [Supreme Court] Gang, will in the least change the laws of nature.

Now there is a great deal that we do *not* know about genetics, both individual and racial, and these uncertainties permit widely differing estimates of the relative importance of biologically determined factors and cultural concepts in the development of a civilization. Our only point here is that it is highly improbable that biological factors have *no* influence at all on the origin and course of civilizations. And to the extent that they do have an influence, Spengler's theory is defective and probably misleading.

Profound Insights

One could add a few minor points to the three objections stated above, but these will suffice to show that the Spenglerian historionomy cannot be accepted as a certainty. It is, however, a great philosophical formulation that poses questions of the utmost importance and deepens our perception of historical causality. No student of history needed Spengler to tell him that a decline of religious faith necessarily weakens the moral bonds that make civilized society possible. But Spengler's showing that such a decline seems to have occurred at a definite point in the development of a number of fundamentally different civilizations with, of course, radically different religions provides us with data that we must take into account when we try to ascertain the true causes of the decline. And his further observation that the decline was eventually followed by a sweeping revival of religious belief is equally significant.

However wrong he may have been about some things, Spengler has given us profound insights into the nature of our own culture. But for him, we might have gone on believing that our great technology was merely a matter of economics — of trying to make more things more cheaply. But he has shown us, I think, that our technology has a deeper significance — that for us, the men of Western civilization, it answers a certain spiritual need inherent in us, and that we derive from its triumphs as satisfaction analogous to that which is derived from great music or great art.

And Spengler, above all, has forced us to inquire into the nature of civilization and to ask ourselves by what means — if any — we can repair and preserve the long and narrow dikes that alone protect us from the vast and turbulent ocean of eternal barbarism. For that, we must always honor him.

Revilo Oliver on History

... The development of a working philosophy of history is the most urgent, as well as the most difficult, task of Twentieth Century thought.

The future will always resemble the past because human nature does not change.

The social and political questions of our day are all primarily historical problems. To think about them rationally, we must begin by consulting the record of human experience in the past. And we soon realize that if only we knew enough about history — and understood it — we should have the answers to all our questions.

No man lives long enough to behold with his own eyes a pattern of change in society. He is like the midge that is born in the afternoon and dies at sunset, and which, therefore, no matter how intelligent it might be, could never discover, or even suspect, that day and night come in regular alternation. Unlike the midge, however, man can consult the experience of the comparatively few generations of his species that have preceded him during the comparatively brief period of about five thousand years in which human beings have had the power to leave records for the instruction of their posterity.

"Some believe all manner of hearsay evidence; others twist truth into fiction; and both sorts of errors are magnified by time."

— Tacitus, Roman historian.

French Courts Punish Holocaust Apostasy

Le Pen, Faurisson, Garaudy Fined for 'Holocaust Denial'

MARK WEBER

In 1789 the French National Assembly enacted the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen," a guiding document of the French Revolution that solemnly proclaims as "inalienable" the rights of free speech and of the press.

Today French citizens are, by and large, able to express their views freely on nearly any topic. But there is one important exception. Those who challenge the Western world's most important social-political taboo — on the Second World War treatment of the Jews — are routinely punished for their apostasy.

France's Fabius-Gayssot law of July 13, 1990, makes it a crime to "contest" the "crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal of 1945-46. This one-sided law — which was introduced to the French parliament by Socialist Party deputy Laurent Fabius (a prominent Jewish political figure) and by Communist Party deputy Jean-Claude Gayssot — is applied selectively only to expressions of skepticism about real or alleged atrocities committed by the losers of the Second World War — that is, by Germans and their allies — and only about the wartime treatment of Jews.

Newspapers, government officials and human rights organizations in Europe and the United States that normally are quick to condemn restrictions on civil liberties have been silent about France's Fabius-Gayssot law and similar "Holocaust denial" laws in Germany, Austria, Belgium, Switzerland and Spain.

Jean-Marie Le Pen

In 1987 Jean-Marie Le Pen, the leader of France's National Front political party, was found guilty of violating the Fabius-Gayssot law by referring to German execution gas chambers as a "detail" or a "minor point" in Second World War history. During a September 1987 interview, he said:

> Do you want me to say it is a revealed truth that everyone has to believe? That it's a moral obligation? I say there are historians who are debating these questions. I am not saying that the gas chambers did not exist. I couldn't see them myself. I haven't studied the questions specially. But I believe that it is a minor point [*point de detail*] in the history of the Second World War.

After a drawn-out court battle, Le Pen was convicted by a French court and fined 1.2 million francs ($200,000).

Ten years later, on December 5, 1997, while in Munich to promote a book about himself written by German author and political figure Franz Schönhuber, Le Pen was asked about his 1987 remark. He replied by saying "There is nothing belittling or scornful about such a statement," and then added: "If you take a book of a thousand pages on the Second World War, in which 50 million people died, the concentration camps occupy two pages and the gas chambers ten or 15 lines, and that's what's called a detail." (See the accompanying essay, "The Detail," by Robert Faurisson.)

Seventeen organizations responded by promptly filing a formal legal complaint. Among the groups demanding punishment were the Simon Wiesenthal Center, which is headquartered in Los Angeles and has an office in Europe, and the Paris-based "Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Among Peoples."

On December 26, 1997, a Paris Court sentenced Le Pen for his second "detail" remark, ordering him to pay 300,000 francs ($50,000) to publish the text of the court's decision in a dozen French newspapers. In addition, he was ordered to pay a large amount of money to eleven of the 17 organizations that had brought a suit against him. Because all this is an interim punishment, an even *more severe* punishment may be forthcoming.

Le Pen was born in 1928 in a Breton fishing village in western France. He served in the armed forces as a paratrooper, and worked as a fisherman and miner to pay for his studies. As a law student in Paris, he was known as an ardent anti-Communist and political activist who was not afraid of physical confrontations. Even his enemies acknowledge his courage and his skill as a public speaker and organizer.

In 1972 he founded the National Front. After several years of obscurity, the nationalist political party has achieved a significant level of popular

support with its call, "France for the French." In last year's parliamentary elections the party won 15 percent of the vote. Le Pen, who is an elected member of the European Parliament, personally captured this same percentage of votes in the first round of the presidential election of 1995.

Le Pen has recently said that he would no longer speak publicly about Nazi gas chambers because nonconformist views on this subject are prohibited by law. During an interview on December 12, 1997, he explained: "I won't respond any more. It's a taboo subject that is protected by legal and criminal law, and the only opinion one can express about it is that allowed by the media."

Jean-Marie Le Pen

Robert Faurisson

For nearly 20 years, Robert Faurisson has been reviled and acclaimed as Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. And no one has been targeted more frequently for violating France's anti-revisionist than this former professor at the University of Lyon and specialist of text and document analysis. He first publicly explained his skeptical views of the Holocaust gas chamber story in articles published in late 1978 and early 1979 in France's most respected daily paper, *Le Monde*.

A coalition of nine organizations, led by the Paris-based "International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism" (LICRA), brought a civil lawsuit alleging "personal damages" for Faurisson's "falsification of history." Found guilty of "personal damages" but not "falsification of history, he was convicted on July 8, 1981.

Faurisson appealed the decision, which was upheld by the Paris Court of Appeals on April 26, 1983. It ordered him to pay "damages" to the various Jewish and leftist organizations that had brought the complaint, as well as pay court costs and the cost of publishing the verdict in three French periodicals.

During an interview in December 1980 with the French radio network "Europe 1," Faurisson stated:

> The alleged Hitlerite gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the Jews form one and the same historical lie, which opened the way to a gigantic political-financial fraud, the principal beneficiaries of which are the State of Israel and international Zionism, and the principal victims of which are the German people — but not their rulers — and the entire Palestinian people.

For these provocative words, Faurisson was brought to trial on criminal charges of racial defamation and incitement to racial hatred. In July 1981 he was found guilty and given a suspended three month prison sentence, fined several thousand francs, and ordered to pay 3.6 million francs for the cost of making public the verdict on television and in periodicals. However, in June 1982 an appeals court threw out the charge of incitement to racial hatred and eliminated the 3.6 million franc payment.

Among his other legal travails, in June 1995 a Paris court ordered Faurisson to pay a fine of $3,000 for writing *Réponse à Jean-Claude Pressac sur le problème des chambres à gaz* ("Response to Jean-Claude Pressac on the problem of the gas chambers"), a book that disputes claims of Second World War mass killings in German gas chambers. Henri Roques, another French revisionist, was likewise fined $3,000 by the court for distributing the work. Roques is also author of *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein*, published by the IHR. (See "French Court Fines Faurisson, Roques for 'Holocaust Denial' Book," Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 13-17.)

Faurisson has had to contend with many other trials and court convictions over the years, as well as the freezing of his bank account. Court officials have visited his house a number of times, threatening him and his wife with seizure of their furniture to pay for the considerable financial "damages" imposed for a simple interview in *Le Choc du mois*.

On September 25, 1997, Faurisson came to trial for a statement made in April 1996 on the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre affair in which he mentioned "the imposture of the Nazi gas chambers." During the trial he told the court: "We are only three years away from the year 2000, and there are billions of

Roger Garaudy

people who are asked to believe in something they have never seen and don't even know how it worked!"

Judge Jean-Yves Monfort showed considerable respect for the defendant during the trial. He was surprised to learn that there are revisionist web sites around the world, and on several occasions showed that he felt uncomfortable applying the Fabius-Gayssot law. It is true, said Monfort, that the court is asked to participate in a debate that ought to take place among historians.

The prosecutor asked for a new kind of sentence: either imprisonment or a fine, to which Faurisson responded by declaring: "I hereby make a commitment that I shall not buy and shall not pay for my freedom. No one has ever bought me and no one will ever buy me."

As expected, the Paris court handed down a guilty verdict. On October 23 it ordered Faurisson to pay 120,600 francs ($20,000), divided into three parts: 50,000 francs as a fine, 20,600 francs for a Jewish attorney, and 50,000 to pay for the publication of the summary of the court's judgment in the daily newspapers *Le Monde* and *Libération*, as well as (unprecedentedly) in the *Journal officiel de la République française*.

Faurisson has paid the Jewish lawyer and is paying the fine in installments. However, he will not have to pay to promulgate the court judgment because, he has learned, the anti-revisionist organizations decided that they did not wish to see the publication of the words "the imposture of the Nazi gas chambers."

There seems to be no end in sight for Faurisson's legal travails. He had to appear before a Paris court on March 16, 1998, to stand trial for a short definition of "revisionism," as inaccurately reported in *Rivarol*. The court's verdict is expected on April 27. On that day Faurisson is due to testify in London on behalf of Nick Griffin, who is being tried for having taken expressed revisionist skepticism about Nazi gas chambers in an issue of his magazine, *The Rune*.

On April 8 Faurisson is set to stand trial in Amsterdam for the publication in 1991 in Dutch of his detailed critical analysis of the Anne Frank *Diary*. Originally written for Ernst Römer, a German who had been put on trial in 1978 in Hamburg, it has been published in various editions (including in the Summer 1982 *Journal of Historical Review*, "Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?").

The Anne Frank Museum in Amsterdam and the Anne Frank Fonds in Basel, Switzerland, jointly brought the legal action. The Museum complained that it has been obliged to provide special training for its guides to respond to Faurisson's arguments, and that his critique might reduce the number of its visitors.

In December 1997 he received a summons from a Paris court official for an essay, "The Horned Visions of the Holocaust," that had been posted without his prior knowledge or approval on an Internet web site. In this piece Faurisson wrote that "The Holocaust of the Jews is a fiction." He responded to the summons with a stern letter in which he defiantly declared his refusal to "collaborate" with French justice authorities and police in the repression of revisionism. This case is likely to come to trial in October.

Faurisson has also been the victim of numerous physical attacks for his views. Between November 1978 and May 1993 he was assaulted on ten occasions, with at least nine of the attacks carried out by Jewish organizations or militants. Probably the worst was a savage and nearly fatal attack on September 16, 1989, for which a group calling itself "The Sons of the Memory of the Jews" claimed responsibility. No one was ever arrested for these crimes. (For more, see "Jewish Militants" in the March-April 1996 *Journal*, pp. 6-7, and *The Zionist Terror Network* [IHR: 1993], pp. 15-16.)

Reynouard, Garaudy and Others

Faurisson and Le Pen are hardly the only ones whom Jewish groups and French officials have targeted for expressing skepticism of the officially sanctioned version of 20th century history. Other

On February 27, 1998, thugs of the militant Jewish group "Betar" brazenly attacked visitors in the Paris court house who were sympathetic with Roger Garaudy, a French scholar who was sentenced on that day to pay $20,000 for revisionist remarks made in a 1996 book. At least eight persons were injured in the assaults.

"Never mind! We'll take care of order in the court building," says a "Betar" militant to a French policeman in the Paris *Palais du Justice*. In this drawing, published in the French weekly *Rivarol* (March 6), "Chard" comments on the brazen behavior of Jewish thugs and the passivity of the police.

victims include Philippe Costa, Alain Guionnet and Fabrice Robert. Between July 1990 and January 1993 alone, the Fabius-Gayssot law had already been applied 27 times.

In 1997 and early 1998, the principal victim of anti-revisionism in France has been Vincent Reynouard, who was abruptly dismissed without notice from his position as a teacher at a college in Normandy for an expression of unorthodox historical views. Reynouard, 28, is married and has three young children. Michel Adam, a teacher in Brittany in his mid-50s, has similarly been suspended from his post for expressing revisionist views, and will probably be permanently laid off.

Eric Delcroix, Faurisson's attorney, has been sentenced for his book, *La Police de la Pensée contre le Révisionnisme* ("The Thought Police Against Revisionism"). A bookseller in Bordeaux, Jean-Luc Lundi, has received a stiff sentence because he offered revisionist books for sale. In Paris, thugs have repeatedly assaulted bookseller Georges Piscoci-Danesco and attacked his book shop, which stocked some revisionist titles, while the police have refused protection.

Gabor Tamas Rittersporn, a Jewish sociologist, was dismissed in February from his position as a visiting scholar in Berlin with "Marc Bloch" German-French research center when it was discovered that during the early 1980s he had defended Faurisson, and had expressed skepticism about the existence of Nazi gas chambers while he was associated with the revisionist publishing enterprise *Le Vieille Taupe* ("The Old Mole") of Pierre Guillaume. As soon as the affair began, Rittersporn recanted, saying that he had been wrong to embrace revisionist views and that since then he had come to realize that Faurisson was wrong (*Berliner Zeitung*, Feb. 12, 1998).

In a much-publicized recent case, a Paris court on February 27, 1998, fined French philosopher Roger Garaudy 240,000 francs ($40,000) — not 120,000 francs, as widely reported — for statements made in his 1996 book *Les mythes foundateurs de la politique israelienne* ("The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics," reviewed in the March-April 1996 *Journal*). Specifically, he was found guilty of "denying crimes against humanity" by expressing scholarly skepticism of the Holocaust extermination story, and for "racist defamation" by citing the awesome Jewish role in the Western media.

Garaudy, an 84-year-old convert to Islam, has won considerable support in Arab and Muslim countries for his legal battle, where this case is widely regarded as another example of the hypocrisy that prevails in Europe and the United States on issues involving Jewish and Zionist interests. (More on the Garaudy affair will appear in a forthcoming *Journal* issue.)

On the day that the verdict was pronounced against Garaudy, some 30 thugs of the Jewish youth organization "Betar" (comparable to the Jewish Defense League in the USA) assaulted revisionists at the Paris court house (*Palais de Justice*). At least

Robert Faurisson

eight persons were injured: six inside the building and two outside. Although about 120 guards and gendarmes were present, there were no arrests. Faurisson and four others, along with two guards, had to escape from the building through an underground passageway.

Jacques Vergès, Garaudy's defense attorney, and Eric Delcroix, attorney for co-defendant Pierre Guillaume (publisher of Garaudy's book), filed a formal complaint with the court. Faurisson also protested the official toleration of Jewish violence in an open letter to the *Commandant militaire du Palais de Justice*. On several occasions since 1980, Betar thugs have assaulted peaceable court house visitors, acting with impunity as security guards and gendarmes passively stood by. (See "Jewish Militants" in the March-April 1996 *Journal*, esp. pp. 8-9.)

— *March 22, 1998*

Important People

"Half the harm that is done in this world is due to people who want to feel important. They don't want to do harm — but the harm does not interest them. Or they do not see it, or they justify it. Because they are absorbed in the endless struggle to think well of themselves."

— T. S. Eliot

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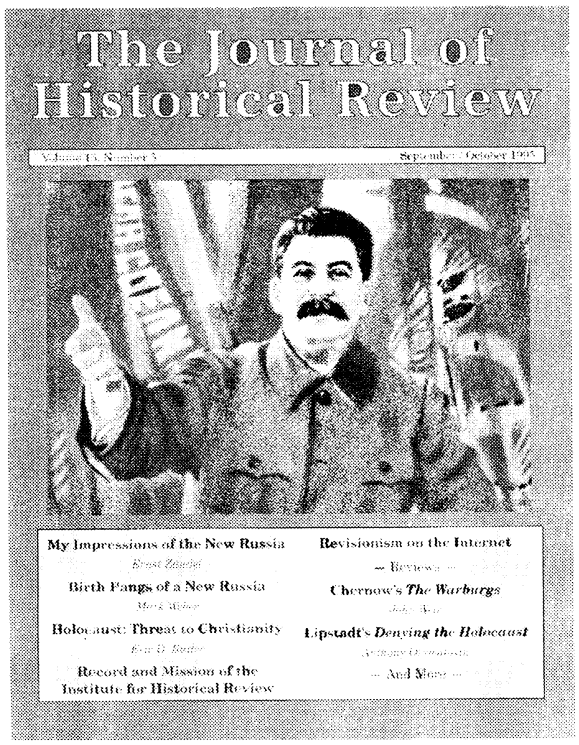
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Comparing the Titanic Sinking

History's Little-Known Naval Disasters

Many of those who view "Titanic," the new blockbuster motion picture, may leave the movie theater believing that the April 15, 1912, sinking of the great British liner, with the loss of 1,523 men, women and children, was history's greatest maritime disaster.

Others may perhaps think of the British passenger liner *Lusitania*, which sank on May 7, 1915, after being hit by a German submarine torpedo, taking 1,198 lives.

But these disasters are dwarfed by the sinkings of the *Wilhelm Gustloff*, the *General Steuben* and the *Goya*, three German ships crowded with evacuated refugees and wounded soldiers that were struck by Soviet submarines during the final months of the Second World War.

As John Ries points out in his essay in the Fall 1992 *Journal*, "History's Greatest Naval Disasters," more lives were lost in the case of each of these vessels than in the sinkings of either the *Lusitania* or the *Titanic*.

The first of these German ships to go down was the *Wilhelm Gustloff*, a 25,000-ton converted luxury liner that had been serving as a hospital ship. When it left the Baltic harbor of Gydnia (Gotenhafen) on January 30, 1945, it was jammed with nearly 5,000 refugees, mostly women and children, and 1,600 military servicemen. At shortly after nine o'clock in the evening, it was struck by three torpedoes from Soviet submarine S-13. Convoy vessels were able to rescue only about 900 from the sub-freezing Baltic waters. At least 5,400 perished.

Eleven days later, shortly after midnight on February 10, the *General Steuben* sank with a loss of 3,500 lives, making this the third worst maritime disaster in history. The same Soviet submarine that had attacked the *Gustloff*, and in almost the same location, sank the *Steuben* with two torpedoes. Crammed with as many as 5,000 wounded soldiers and refugees, the converted passenger liner sank in just seven minutes.

The sinking of the *Goya* on April 16, 1945, just three weeks before the end of the war in Europe, is acknowledged as almost certainly the greatest maritime disaster, in terms of lives lost, of all time. The converted 5,230-ton transport ship had set out from Hela near Danzig (Gdansk) with its human cargo of some 7,000 refugees and wounded soldiers.

Just a few minutes before midnight, the Soviet submarine L-3 fired two torpedoes at the *Goya*, which found their marks amidship and stern. Almost immediately the ship broke in half, her masts crashing down upon the passengers crowding the decks. Before anyone could escape from the holds, the onrushing sea quickly drowned out the anguished screams of the refugees below. The vessel sank in just four minutes, resulting in the loss of nearly 7,000 lives. There were only 183 survivors.

Concluding his essay on this chapter of history, Ries wrote:

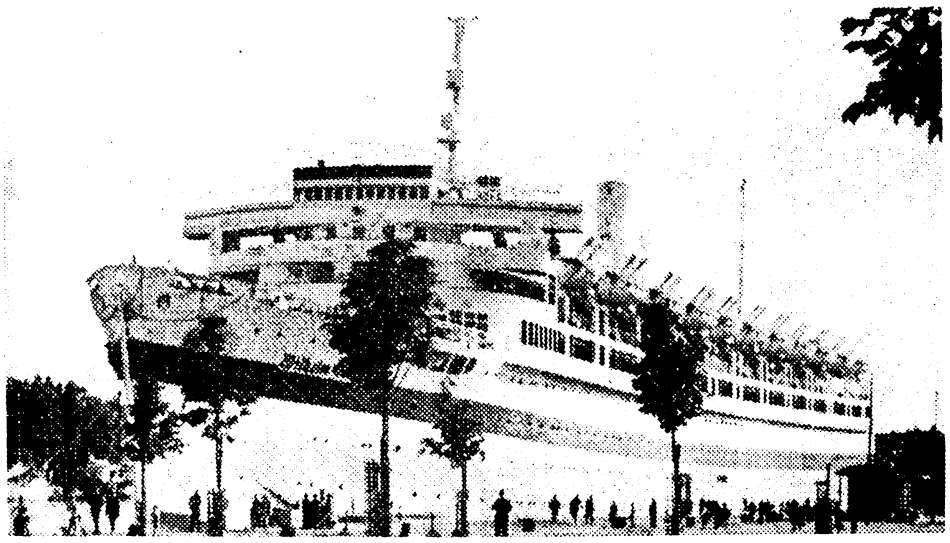
> Although little known, the sinkings of the *Wilhelm Gustloff* and the *Goya* — with a combined loss of more than 12,000 lives — remain the greatest maritime catastrophes of all time. Moreover, the deliberate and unnecessary killing of thousands of innocent civilian refugees and helpless wounded men aboard the *Gustloff*, the *Steuben* and the *Goya* — as well as many other smaller and lesser known vessels — is unquestionably one of the great atrocities of the Second World War.

Lesser known but also worthy of note is the sinking of the German battleship *Bismarck* on May 27, 1941. Following intense attack in the Atlantic from British planes and four major British warships, it went under with the loss of some 2,200 men.

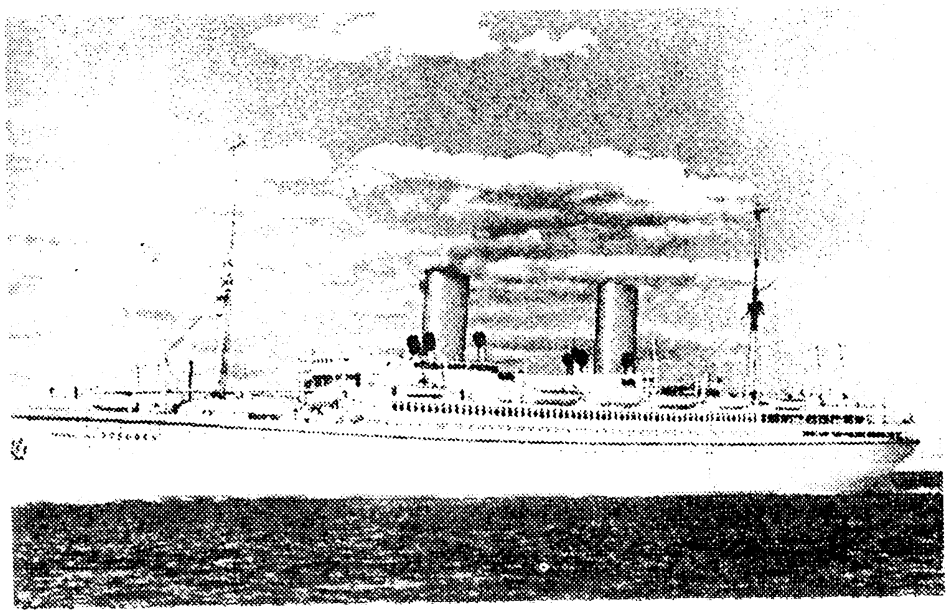
Even more tragic is the case of the *Cap Arcona*, a 27,650-ton converted German passenger ship packed with evacuated concentration camp inmates. On May 3, 1945, just a week before the end of the war, it was sunk by fire from a British fighter-bomber as it was moored in Lübeck harbor. Some 5,000 persons, nearly all of them inmates, lost their lives. Only about 500 could be rescued.

A similar fate befell the *Thielbek*, a German ship likewise packed with 2,800 inmates who were being evacuated from the Neuengamme concentration camp. Succumbing to intense fire from British war planes, it sank on May 3, 1945, with the loss of all on board.

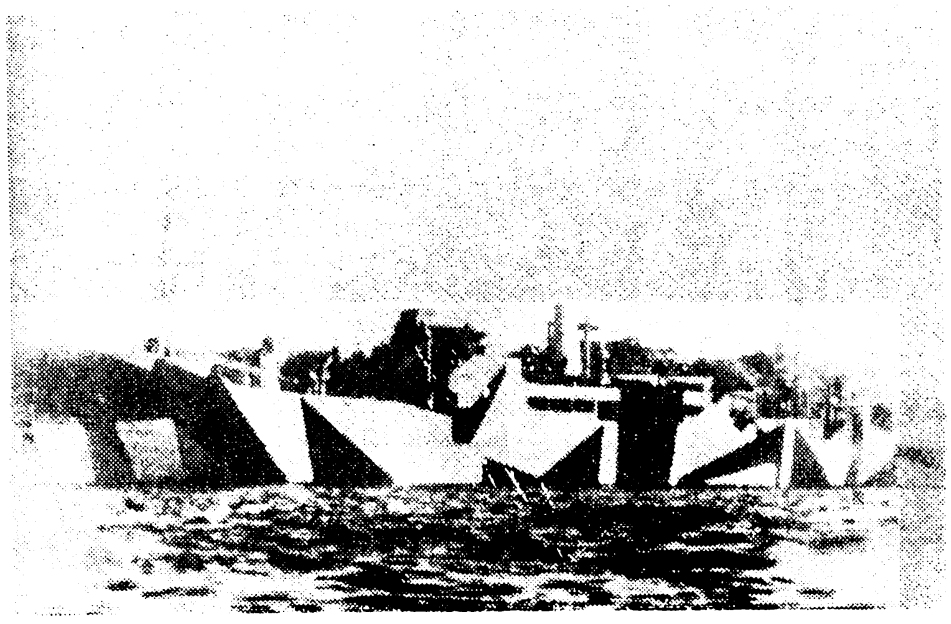
— *M. W.*



The *Wilhelm Gustloff*, which served before the war as a luxury liner, was overloaded with desperate civilian refugees when it was struck on January 30, 1945, with the loss of at least 5,400 lives.



The *General Steuben* was overloaded with wounded soldiers and refugees when it was sunk on February 10, 1945, with a loss of 3,500 lives. By comparison, 1,523 lives were lost in the 1912 sinking of the *Titanic*.



The *Goya*, shown here with camouflage paint, was attacked by Soviet submarine L-3 on April 16, 1945, taking nearly 7,000 lives. This little-known sinking is the greatest maritime disaster in history.

"No sadder proof can be given by a man of his own littleness than disbelief in great men."
— Thomas Carlyle

"The farther backward you can look, the farther forward you are likely to see."
— Winston Churchill

Robert Graham and Revisionism

ARTHUR R. BUTZ

When I was writing *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* I encountered an extraordinary source, namely, the multi-volume collection of documents and commentary *Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde guerre mondiale* ("Acts and documents of the Holy See relative to the Second World War"). The series, whose principal editor was Robert A. Graham, was still being published by the Vatican, and further volumes were in preparation.

Graham was a former editor of the Jesuit magazine *America*. The "extermination" claim was not challenged in the series, and it was generally understood that Graham's main interest was in defending the wartime Pope Pius XII against charges of tacit consent to, and even collaboration with, Nazi policies of physical extermination of the Jews. Such charges crested with Rolf Hochhuth's play *The Deputy*.

I believed that the Vatican documents constitute an important source. I devoted an entire appendix of my book to discussing them.

In studying the series of volumes I was struck by some of the editorial remarks, and believed that the editor, although not a revisionist in our sense, was implicitly raising fundamental questions of a revisionist bent. A good example was the quotation of some selected passages from some reports, from apparently well informed sources, delivered to the Pope on July 15, 1943, which described Auschwitz as essentially a work camp, and spoke of Jews who had been deported from France sending letters back to their families.[1]

These impressions were so strong that I believed it necessary to contact Graham directly. In early 1977 I wrote to him in Rome, thus starting a very satisfactory and years-long correspondence, although the request for copies of documents that I made to him at the time could not be filled, for reasons beyond his control.[2]

In summer 1977 I was in Rome and visited him. Our conversation confirmed to me what I had read between the lines in *Actes et documents*; the editor was puzzled by the evidence he had examined, because much of it seemed impossible to reconcile with the "extermination" legend. He showed me a pamphlet I had not seen, published in 1943 by the "Polish Labor Group" which was based in New York but in touch with the Polish underground. Its title was appropriate: *Oswiecim — Camp of Death* ("Oswiecim" is Polish for "Auschwitz"). The pamphlet presented the truth with some embellishment, but what was important to Graham was that it did not speak of "exterminations" in any way reconcilable with the legend. He let me borrow the pamphlet to photocopy.

Volume 10 of *Actes et documents* was long delayed, and I wrote to Graham several times in my eagerness to see it. When publication finally came in 1980, Graham was thoughtful enough to alert me personally. I got a copy and found references to more interesting but unpublished documents. Again I wrote to Graham and happily, this time, my request was filled.[3]

At the IHR Conference in 1982, I compared the Holocaust legend to the Donation of Constantine, and sent Graham a copy of the paper. In the paper I had noted that the Jewish historian Walter Laqueur understood as I did "that the far-flung nature of the operations of the Catholic Church guaranteed that the Vatican would have known what was happening to the Jews."[4] Graham acknowledged receipt of the copy of my paper with a very kind, respectful and encouraging letter, referring to and not disputing the remark about the Vatican. He only complained that Laqueur was, without foundation, accusing his group of suppressing relevant documents. That letter from Graham is reproduced here.

I always knew that there was an honest and honorable man editing the publication of the Vatican documents.

Rev. Robert A. Graham, S.J., died in a California retirement home, at age 84, on February 11, 1997.

— *July 31, 1997*

Notes

1. *Actes et documents*, vol. 9, pp. 42, 393. The footnote on p. 42 should refer to "Nr. 264", not 164. More examples are given toward the end of "Appendix E" of my book.
2. I wanted copies of the documents about deportations of Jews that *Actes et documents* had quoted but not reproduced. Graham told me to send my "request through channels," that is, to Archbishop Agostino Casaroli, Secretary of the Council for the Public Affairs of the Church. I did so but Casaroli replied

Robert A. Graham, S.J.

Pope Pius XII

ROBERT A. GRAHAM, S. J.
VIA DI PORTA PINCIANA, 1
00187 ROME - (ITALY)

VILLA MALTA 24 January 1983

Dear Mr. Butz,

Your airmailed copy of your September 1982 paper reached me today. I hasten to thank you for keeping me in mind when elaborating on your theme.

On a quick reading, I see I must reflect further on the validity of your approach. I never thought of this in the analogy of the donation of Constantine !

I note your quote from Laqueur on the Vatican. He was apparently peeved at us for telling him we published what we had, as of 1942. What makes him assume that there is on the contrary a lot more ? This is begging the question.

I wish you a proserpous New Year and fresh discoveries and new insights on a great drama !

Sincerely yours,

Robert A. Graham, S.J.

that because the reports in question "were provided by Jewish authorities in France," I should address myself to them. I wrote to the *Centre de documentation juive contemporaine*, in Paris, but received no answer. I also visited the *Centre* in July 1977, but could not find the documents.

3. The most interesting document was a letter from Alexandru Safran, Grand Rabbi of Romania, to Msgr. Andrea Cassulo, Papal Nuncio in Bucharest, dated June 30, 1944. It expressed concern that the Jews of Hungary were "exposed to great privations and sufferings," at a time when the legend would have us believe they were mostly dead. The Jews of Hungary and Romania remained in close contact throughout this period.
4. The paper, "Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust' Controversy," was published in the Winter 1982 *Journal*, and appears as Supplement B in recent printings of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. [This presentation is also available on audio cassette, stock #A028, for $9.95, plus shipping.]

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VILLA MALTA .....
FAX (06) 699.40.997

15 November 1994

Mr. Mark Weber
Institute for Historical Review
P.O.Box 2739
Newport Beach,CA 92659
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Weber,

I received only today your letter of 20 August; it came, as indicated, by surface mail. That takes time; there are no fast transatlantic ships anymore.

I thank you for your enclosures. I thank you also for your interest in my own writings. I like to know ever more about the events of WWII. But exaggerations abound. Some people make outrageous statements which in many cases they seem to get away with. This why I am glad to get a variety of views. I like to make up my own mind. Need I say that you and your collaborators have chosen a rocky road , for which you deserve credit.

Mr. Butz came to see me some years ago. Do you ever get to Rome ?

Sincerely yours,

(Rev.) Robert A. Graham, S.J.

American-Born Vatican Historian Refuted 'Holocaust Complicity' Charges

One of the most persistent and malicious accusations leveled against the Roman Catholic Church in recent decades is the charge that Pope Pius XII and the Vatican acquiesced in the slaughter of millions of Jews during the Second World War by failing explicitly to condemn the killings. (On this subject, see: Mary Ball Martinez, "Pope Pius XII During the Second World War," Sept.-Oct. 1993 *Journal*.)

Greatly contributing to this campaign was a play, "The Deputy," which provoked intense worldwide discussion following its premiere in 1963. This polemical work by German playwright Rolf Hochhuth is based in large part on the "confessions" of former SS officer Kurt Gerstein. (For more on Gerstein, see Henri Roques' book-length study, *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein*, published by the IHR.)

It is indeed true that Pope Pius XII made no explicit public condemnation during the war of killings of Jews — a fact that is often cited by the Church's critics to accuse the Vatican of grave moral culpability for passive complicity in "the Holocaust."

But as Dr. Arthur Butz has explained, a more reasonable explanation for this "silence" is the fact that Vatican officials were unable to confirm the rumors of a German policy or program to exterminate Europe's Jews, in spite of voluminous information received during the war years through an outstanding intelligence network. Thus, in late 1942 Pope Pius XII privately told an American official that, with regard to the extermination reports, he "felt that there had been some exaggeration for the purposes of propaganda." (Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* [1981], pp. 104-105)

As Dr. Butz has further pointed out, neither the Allied governments, the International Committee of the Red Cross, or even the major international Jewish organizations, acted as if they seriously believed wartime stories of mass extermination of Jews. (See Butz' paper, "Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust' Controversy," published as Supplement B in the current edition of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*.)

In recent years, the most important Vatican voice refuting the "complicity" charge was that of the American-born historian Robert A. Graham, the Catholic Church's foremost authority on the Papacy's role during the Second World War. He once characterized the "complicity" accusations as "an obscenity."

Graham, a native of San Francisco, was born in 1912, the son of a baseball coach. After his ordination as a Jesuit priest in 1941, he studied at various Jesuit colleges, earned a doctorate in political science from the University of Geneva in 1952, and joined the staff of the Jesuit magazine *America* in New York. While serving as the magazine's associate editor, he began his decades-long investigation of social, historical and diplomatic issues.

Responding to the international furor of the early 1960s regarding the Vatican's wartime role, Pope Paul VI ordered secret Vatican records of the wartime era to be opened, and assigned Fr. Graham and three other scholars the great task of sifting, organizing and publishing this mass of material.

Over the course of the next 17 years, Graham and his associates issued a series of eleven comprehensive volumes of documents, supplemented with informed comment, under the title *Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde guerre mondiale*. These detailed records show conclusively that Pope Pius XII actively aided large numbers of persecuted Jews during the war years, and that the Vatican was an important haven of refuge and assistance for the continent's Jews.

After the completion of this project in 1981, Fr. Graham continued his archival research and scholarly writing until the final months of his life.

For 24 years he was also a regular contributor to *Columbia*, the magazine of the US Catholic fraternal organization Knights of Columbus.

During his lifetime Graham wrote several books based on his extensive research in Vatican and other archives, including *Vatican Diplomacy* (1959), *Pope Pius XII and the Jews*, and *The Vatican and Communism During World War II* (1996). Over the years he also published many of his findings in numerous articles that appeared in the Rome-based scholarly journal *La Civiltà Cattolica*.

Fr. Graham's scrupulousness and open-mindedness is also reflected in his relations with revisionist researchers, as shown in the two letters reproduced here in facsimile (reduced).

— *M.W.*

"It is better to try big things even though checkered by failure, than to rank with those poor souls who neither enjoy much nor suffer much."

— Theodore Roosevelt

Pro-Israel Jews Play Ominous Role in Clinton Administration

Richard H. Curtiss

United States history of the past half-century is replete with instances of the pro-Israel community in America taking on the US foreign affairs establishment and winning. Two examples will suffice to show how long this has been going on.

In a meeting with President Harry Truman in 1945, heads of US diplomatic missions in the Middle East advised strongly against partitioning Palestine, saying it would result in a bloodbath in the short run and major problems for the United States in the Middle East and Asia in the long run. They were right, as history has proven. But President Truman's reply then was, "I am sorry gentlemen, but I have to answer to hundreds thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism. I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs among my constituents." Truman put American diplomatic muscle behind the partition resolution in the United Nations. In November 1947, partition prevailed, and fighting broke out almost immediately afterward.

Six months later, in May 1948, the question of diplomatic recognition for the Jewish state arose. Clark Clifford, Truman's domestic political adviser, warned him that if he did not recognize Israel he might lose the 1948 presidential election. General of the Armies George Marshall, America's top-ranking World War II military leader, who by then was serving as Truman's Secretary of State, counseled strongly against recognizing the soon-to-be State of Israel before it defined its borders. In Marshall's words, "I said bluntly that if the president were to follow Mr. Clifford's advice and if in the elections I were to vote, I would vote against the President." Three days later, Truman recognized Israel eleven minutes after in proclaimed its independence. Nearly 50 years later Israel still has not defined its borders.

Things have come a long way since America's organized Jewish community scored those first major victories over common sense, US national interests, and the entire US foreign affairs establishment. In fact, in the administration of President Bill Clinton the pro-Israel portion of the Jewish community has become America's foreign affairs establishment.

In the State Department, the occupant of every position designated for assistant secretaries of state for regional affairs is Jewish or soon will be. And don't be misled by the "assistant" in the titles. The six regional assistant secretaries for Europe, the Near East, Africa, South Asia, the Far East, and Latin America and the Caribbean are the top foreign affairs officials for each of those geographic areas, which together encompass the world.

When it comes to the State Department's "Middle East peace team," the two top political appointees, Dennis Ross and his deputy, Aaron David Miller, both are Jewish with a long history of personal support for Zionism and residence in Israel.

Similarly, a large percentage of other top-echelon State Department political appointees and ambassadors are Jewish. A US ambassador who happened to be visiting Washington in October remarked to the writer that during Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year, many State Department offices took on the forlorn, nearly deserted visage that used to characterize the brief interval between Christmas and New Year's day.

The same was true in the White House, where the top two foreign affairs officials, National Security Advisor Samuel Berger and his deputy, John Steinberg, are Jewish, as is Vice President Al Gore's national security advisor, Leon Furth. So are a lot of other White House policymakers. One of them, Clinton domestic political adviser Rahm Emmanuel, actually went to Israel for one month's service during the 1991 Gulf war in the Israel Defense Force

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Richard H. Curtiss served as a career foreign service officer with the US Department of State and the US Information Agency, with postings in Indonesia, Germany, Turkey, Lebanon, Syria and other countries. When he retired from the foreign service in 1980, he was chief inspector of the US Information Agency. Curtiss is author of *Changing Image: American Perspectives of the Arab-Israeli Dispute* and *Stealth PACs: Lobbying Congress for Control of US Middle East Policy.* He is currently Executive Director of *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (P.O. Box 53062, Washington, DC 20009). This article is reprinted from the Jan.-Feb. 1998 issue of *The Washington Report.*

President Harry Truman was warned by his top foreign policy advisers, including Secretary of State George C. Marshall, of grave long-term international problems if the United States backed the new Zionist state of Israel. Citing Jewish influence and pressure, Truman nevertheless decided in May 1948 to give US recognition and support to Israel.

"Overseas Volunteer Unit" to enable IDF personnel in essential civilian jobs to join their military units at the front. Emmanuel's Israeli father was a member of Menachem Begin's underground terrorist militia, the Irgun Zvai Leumi, and Rahm Emmanuel's uncle was killed while serving with Israeli forces in the 1948 war.

Nor is there anything particularly incongruous about the high percentage of top Jewish officials in the Clinton White House and foreign affairs establishment. In some other government departments, the situation differs only in the details.

Ironically, Secretary Donna Shalala of the Department of Health and Human Services is the only Arab American in the cabinet. But, according to HHS insiders, most of her second echelon officials, all White House appointees, are Jewish. So are a remarkably high percentage of top officials in the National Institutes of Health, which supervise hundreds of research grants at home and abroad.

A Similar Situation

At the Department of Commerce the situation is similar, even after the resignation of Secretary of Commerce Mikey Kantor, a long-time pro-Israel activist and Clinton's 1992 election campaign manager. At the Pentagon and CIA, at political appointee levels (in contrast to career military and CIA officers), things are not that different.

Israelis consider Secretary of Defense William Cohen, a former Republican senator, Jewish, although he says he dropped out of the Jewish faith as a teenage. John Deutch, a CIA director in the first Clinton administration, also is Jewish, with close personal ties to Israel, including Israeli relatives and a residence there. Deutch is said to have resigned from the CIA position only because he was not appointed Secretary of Defense in the second Clinton administration.

The record of a staff meeting at Secretary Robert Rubin's Treasury Department early in the second Clinton administration shows that when top echelon leaders were discussing the best times to make announcements the Treasury does not want the American public to notice, one official said: "The time to do it is Christmas or Easter, since those are their two biggest holidays."

The "they" the official was speaking about in the apparently all-Jewish meeting were, of course, the 90 to 95 percent of US taxpayers who are of Christian heritage but who, in the Clinton administration, are so dramatically under-represented in top foreign policy-making positions.

This situation became so obvious early in the first Clinton administration that on September 2, 1994, Avinoam Bar-Yosef, Washington correspondent for *Ma'ariv*, Israel's most influential daily, wrote a lengthy and highly revealing report headlined, "The Jews in Clinton's Court." With the situation still further out of balance in the second administration, other Jewish journalists are reluctant to write about it further, and non-Jewish journalists are afraid to.

Outside the executive branch, both Clinton appointments to the nine-member Supreme Court are Jewish. In Congress some ten percent of senators are Jewish, as are 7.7 percent of the members of the House of Representatives. Yet no more than five million Americans describe themselves as Jewish, meaning less than two percent of a population of 260 million Americans.

Reactions to this astonishing imbalance between the governed and governing classes are mixed. Most Middle Easterners are aware of it and are baffled. The situation would be considered extremely dangerous in most of the Middle Eastern "mosaic societies" that endure in the wake of the vanished Ottoman empire. Minorities are represented in most governments in direct proportion to their percentage in the population.

In countries like Syria, where members of a Shi'i

Muslim minority dominate a Sunni Muslim majority, or Iraq, where the exact opposite is true, the situation is considered unstable and endures only because both governments have adopted harsh police state methods to punish unrest.

Europeans, who are belatedly becoming aware of the current US peculiarity, only shake their heads knowingly. They are quick to attribute the arrogance and vindictiveness that characterize current US foreign policy to the working out of old anti-European and anti-Arab hostilities by US officials pursuing a separate pro-Israel agenda. Politically sophisticated Europeans point out, off-the-record, that Israel-driven US policies ultimately could result in serious US reverses in many parts of the world.

Europeans almost unanimously (and perhaps hopefully) predict that such reverses ultimately will provide the catalyst for American anti-Semitism almost as virulent as that manifested in Germany before and during World War II, or the anti-Semitism which now lies barely below the surface in countries as diverse as France, Austria, Switzerland, Poland and Ukraine.

Americans seem less conscious of the imbalance within their own government because of the unwillingness of the mainstream US media to acknowledge that it exists. Negative reactions among US government officials who are aware of the situation are never expressed publicly — and only among trusted friends.

In fact the situation within the current administration is remarkably like that within the media a generation or two ago when American Jews assumed dominant roles in America's "elite" or "national" press. In 1980, during a Foreign Service Institute seminar with a rabbi from nearby George Washington University, the writer remarked on the preponderance of Jewish publishers, editors and investigative reporters on America's two "newspapers of record," *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, and various national magazines. With no trace of defensiveness, the rabbi responded: "I used to think that too, but then I discovered that many of the media figures I had assumed were Jewish actually were not."

The writer pondered at length about what this could possibly mean. Perhaps that although many of the media elite then and now are of Jewish heritage, they aren't actual paid-up members of a synagogue? Using that sort of reasoning, one could unhesitatingly say that fewer than 50 percent of the American people are Christian. But of course, this "true" statement would be grossly misleading. Whatever his motives, the rabbi was fooling no one but himself.

The same is true of American public perception

Benjamin Netanyahu addresses the Israeli parliament in 1994 as Bill Clinton looks on.

of the present Jewish influence in Washington. Americans don't talk about it openly because it's politically incorrect to do so. But that doesn't mean they're not aware of it.

Remarked one retired foreign service officer to the writer, "The situation is so extraordinary and the misuse of his newly acquired Jewish power within the Clinton administration is so obvious, that it can't last. We are witnessing the peak of Jewish power in America right now. It has nowhere to go but down."

This is contested by Canadian-born former Mossad case worker Victor Ostrovsky, who was raised in Israel but returned to the land of his birth after he quit the Mossad in disgust. Things will not change soon in either the US or Canada, he predicts. In the name of helping Israel, North American Jews not only are consolidating the power they have quietly achieved, he insists, but also are steadily grasping for more. The long-term result, he says, will be such virulent anti-Semitism that most of what Jews have built for themselves in the New World will be swept away.

Nor, Ostrovsky predicts, would the Israelis, who are the catalyst for this self-destructive "overweening pride" among their American co-religionists, shed any tears over the downfall of their US backers. "The Israelis believe that all of these American Jews should have come to Israel as soon as it was created," Ostrovsky says. "Therefore, if they ultimately lose their privileged status in American life, it serves them right."

Ostrovsky says also that few Israelis worry about what will happen to their country if the hand of organized American Jewry is removed from the US foreign policy tiller. "It's the farthest thing from the minds of the Israelis," he says. "Illogical as it is, Israelis give their American cousins little or no credit for Israel's current secure place in the world. Therefore they don't worry at all about what will happen to Israel if American Jews lose their politi-

cal influence in Washington."

If Ostrovsky is correct in his assessment of his former Israeli compatriots, detachment from reality and overweening pride are not an American monopoly. In fact, the reckless over-confidence of Israel's Likud party prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, already has squandered most of the remarkable achievements of his two Labor party predecessors, Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres, in gaining acceptance of Israel by some 18 of the 22 members of the League of Arab States. Moreover, before he is through, Netanyahu's reckless arrogance may similarly undermine the remarkable achievements of Israel's dedicated supporters within the American Jewish community.

'Alternative History' in France

In France, a lively new revisionist history periodical *l'Autre Histoire* ("The Other History" or "Alternative History") is making a mark. Now in its third year of publication, a typical issue of this attractively laid out, richly illustrated, and intelligently written magazine-format periodical is 48 pages in length. Editor-publisher is Trystan Mordrel.

The June 1997 issue (No. 8) features an interview with David Irving along with a profile of the controversial British historian. It also includes a lengthy article on the Spanish Inquisition and the "Jewish Question" in Spain during the 15th and 16th centuries (translated and adapted from the Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*), and a review-essay by Joseph Bishop about Roosevelt's efforts to provoke war with Japan (translated and adapted from the March-April 1996 *Journal*).

A typical issue includes several pages of readers' letters, a selection of brief news items, short reviews of new books, and summary descriptions of interesting periodicals around the world.

A humorous piece by Bradley Smith about Elie Wiesel, and an interview with the important European revisionist publisher Siegfried Verbeke, are featured in the October 1997 issue (No. 9), along with an essay by Jared Taylor on "race, lies and diversity" (translated from his *American Renaissance* newsletter).

The seven-page lead article in the August 1995 issue traces the little-known history of militant Zionist groups in Europe from the 1930s to the present, including the working alliance between National Socialism and Zionism during the 1930s. Accompanying the article, which is based on an impressive recent book by Emmanuel Ratier, *Les Guerriers d'Israel* ("The Warriors of Israel"), are striking photographs of uniformed young Jewish men, members of the militantly Zionist "Betar" organization. Such groups were not only tolerated in Third Reich Germany, but were encouraged by the regime.

Other items in this issue deal with the elusive "gas chamber" at the Struthof-Natzweiler camp in French Alsace, and the emotion-laden question of differences of intelligence and behavior between races.

For further information, write: *L'Autre Histoire*, BP 3, 35134 Coesmes, Bretagne, France.

L'AUTRE HISTOIRE

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Elie W., le nouvel homme-obus page 19
Selon les souvenirs qu'Elie W. a confiés au *New York Times*, non seulement notre héros a mérité son Nobel, mais aussi de figurer au livre des records aériens.

Churchill trahit à Pearl Harbor page 25
Un livre passé sous silence par la presse apporte des éléments de preuve à l'appui de la thèse selon laquelle les Britanniques auraient eu connaissance de l'attaque de la base de Pearl Harbor avant les Américains.

Siegfried Verbeke l'espiègle d'Anvers page 31
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"A Marxist system typically spares criminals, while it also treats its political opponents as criminals."

— Solzhenitsyn

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"FAVORED RACES"

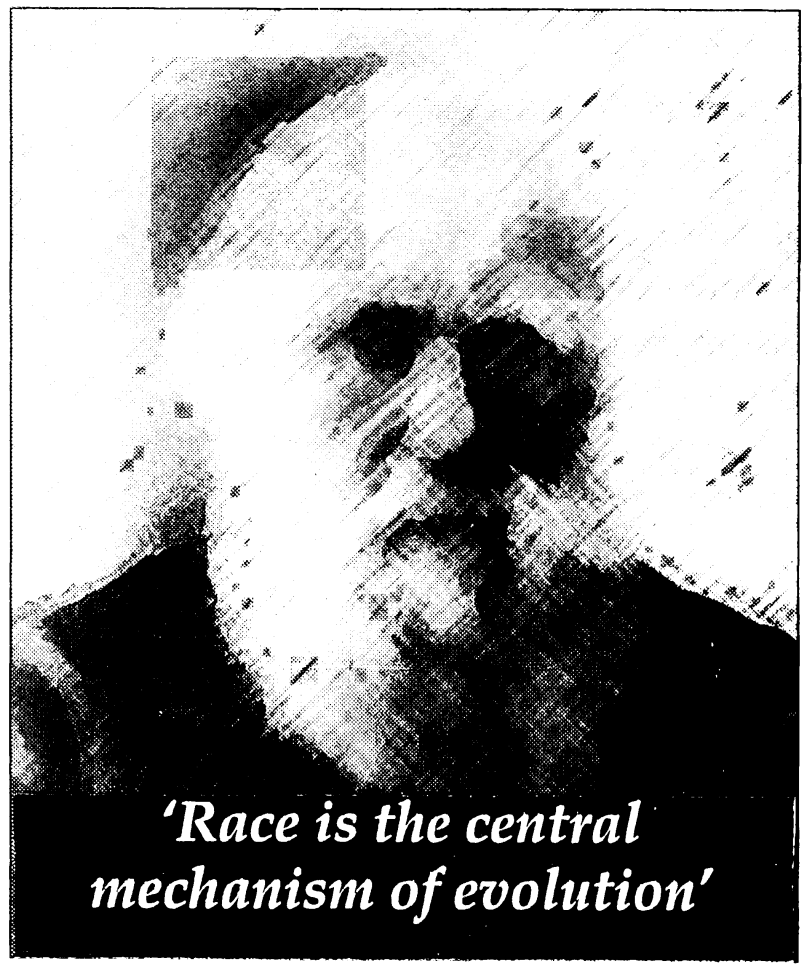
An excerpt from the "Eugenic Manifesto."

For a free copy of the "Eugenic Manifesto," from which the below is an excerpt, please write to: P.O. Box 72, New Concord, KY 42076

The subtitle of Darwin's *Origin of Species* is "On the origin of species by means of natural selection or the preservation of favored races in the struggle for life"* The human race has evolved to its present state of intelligence and power because of "the preservation of favored races in the struggle for life."* "Race"* is the central mechanism of evolution that has created all living things. "The preservation of favored races"* is a simple process to understand, but its effects over time are awesome. If we examine the process, we find that at some stage in evolution we can observe a group of individuals of a single species which exist in an area segregated from other members of that same species. As a result of chance mutation, there occur genetic variations in some members of that segregated group. As the generations continue to reproduce, these genetic variations accumulate in the progeny of that segregated group. At first, the accumulated genetic variations do not make the segregated group different enough from the original species to justify calling the segregated group a new species or even a new "favored race"* of the original species. However, after many generations, the segregated group or tribe which had accumulated sufficient genetic differences would be called a new "race"* of the original species. Over time, these newly developed segregated races continue to accumulate genetic differences through chance mutation, variation, etc. The "favored"* variations increase the survivability of the "race"* which carries them.

Once this new "favored race"* has become different enough from the original species, it is called a new species. Hence the subtitle, "On the origin of species by means of natural selection or the preservation of favored races in the struggle for life."* There is really no probability that the "races"* would be equal. In fact, the whole notion runs directly counter to all evolutionary theory and to the whole science of biology.

Given the laws of biology, it would be a great surprise if the average strength or intelligence of one "race"* was found to be exactly equal to the average strength or intelligence of a different "race."* Despite the controversy surrounding "race,"* it is not particularly useful to know which "race"* happens, as the result of an accident of evolutionary development, to have greater average strength or greater average intelligence because one could not predict from this average that any particular individual member of one "race," was going to be superior or inferior to any particular individual member of a different "race."* There are superior and inferior, strong and weak, intelligent and unintelligent individuals in all "races."* Regardless of "racial"* averages, one would **still** have to judge each individual on the basis of individual merit without reference to the average of the group to which he happened to belong. Only by judging people as individuals, could we avoid injustice and enable all people to make the maximum contribution to society. There is no such thing as a superior "race"* per se, in the sense that every member of one "race"* is superior to every member of another



"race."* Neither is there such a thing as "racial"* equality in the sense that the average strength or intelligence of one "race"* is equal to the average strength or intelligence of every other "race."* By judging people as individuals, one could perhaps identify a (superior) sociobiological class which might be a cross section of all "races"* although probably not in equal proportion. The only way you could have a [superior race] would be if a "favored race"* evolved into and became the next more highly evolved species above homosapiens, in which case it would become a superior species. Eugenics is a moral commitment not a racial affiliation and any "race"* that adopted a eugenic program could, given sufficient time, evolve into and become the next more highly evolved species above homo-sapiens. It is our hope that all "races"* will accept that moral responsibility and accomplish that objective, but it can not be accomplished within the political, philosophical and religious milieu of the 20th century.

**Origin Of Species*, CHARLES DARWIN

For a free copy of the "Eugenic Manifesto," from which the above is an excerpt, please write to: P.O. Box 72, New Concord, KY 42076, U.S.A.

'The More Things Change ...'

Will Rogers on American 'Moral Leadership' and Foreign Adventurism

Until his death in an airplane crash in 1935, Will Rogers delighted Americans with his witty and astute commentary on social and political issues of the day. The following excerpts from his syndicated newspaper columns and radio broadcasts between 1925 and 1935 were compiled by Bryan B. Sterling and Frances N. Sterling, who have published eight books and a play about the "cowboy philosopher." This collection of excerpts first appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, April 28, 1996.

Europe has got a thing that America always falls for, and that's when they tell us they want our "moral leadership." That's almost like telling an old man he's got sex appeal. It's a line of bunk that this country falls for and always has. Our delegates swell out their chests and really believe that the world is just hanging by a thread.

It has just become almost impossible for a country to have a nice, home-talent little revolution among themselves, without us butting into it. But here we go again. If we ever pass out as a great nation, we ought to put on our tombstone: "America died from a delusion that she had moral leadership."

Now you can't pick up a paper without reading where our Marines have landed to keep some nations from shooting each other, and if necessary we shoot them to keep them from shooting each other. America has a great habit of always talking about protecting American interests in some foreign country. Protect them here at home. There are more American interests right here than anywhere. What would we say if the Chinese was to send a gunboat up the Mississippi?

Those little Balkan nations, they are like a mess of stray terriers anyhow, they just as well be fighting. I remember when I was over in Europe in the summer of '26, why, they were growling at each other like fat prima donnas on the same opera bill. I hit upon a half dozen of those Balkan nations and Yugoslavia. Now did you know they got their two bands of people, called the Serbians and the Croats? Well, the Croats, they say they are downtrodden. The one thing their whole country is united in, is that they hate Italy.

Now Serbia, she don't want to lose her reputation — they want to go down in history as having started all the wars. You see, the whole mess of 'em, they have no more love for each other than a litter of hyenas. They either lost or gained territory during a war, and they feel — those that did gain — that in another war they could grab off even more, and the ones that lost can't see how they could possibly make that mistake again. You see, you can't just sit down and cut out a nation on the map. You don't know how many people in any country are pulling for a revolution, for they have a great amount of dissatisfied people in them. The more nations you create, the more chances you have of war. That's self-disintegration of small nations.

You know, we haven't got any business in those faraway wars. Seven thousand miles is a long way to go to shoot somebody, especially if you are not right sure they need shooting, and you are not sure whether you are shooting the right side or not. You see, it's their war and they have a right to fight it as they see fit, without any advice from us.

When we start out trying to make everybody have moral elections, why, it just don't look like we *are going* to have Marines enough to go Round 1. Why, if it wasn't for the movies picturing Marines going from one country to another, we would never know what they looked like. I had an unusual experience the other day — I seen a Marine in America.

If we keep our nose clean and don't start yapping about somebody else's honor or what our moral obligations are, we might not get dragged into it. But it's going to take better statesmanship than we have been favored with heretofore.

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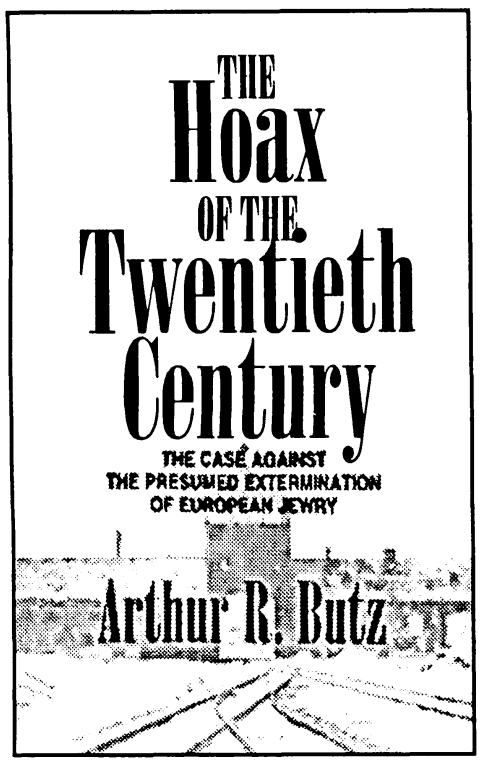
THE HOAX OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The Case Against the Presumed Extermination of European Jewry



Yehuda Bauer and Prof. Moshe Davis agreed that there is a "recession in guilt feeling" over the Holocaust, encouraged by fresh arguments that the reported extermination of six million Jews during World War II never took place ... "You know, it's not difficult to fabricate history," Davis added.

— Chicago *Sun-Times*, Oct. 25, 1977

In spite of the many important breakthroughs in revisionist scholarship since it was first published in 1976, Dr. Butz' brilliant pathbreaking study remains unsurpassed as the most comprehensive one-volume scholarly refutation of the Holocaust extermination story.

With an engineer's eye for technical detail and a mature scholar's mastery of the sources, the Northwestern University professor ranges from Auschwitz to Zyklon in debunking the gas chamber and the Six Million stories.

In nearly 400 pages of penetrating analysis and lucid commentary, Dr. Butz gives a graduate course on the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War. He scrupulously separates the cold facts from the tonnage of stereotyped myth and propaganda that has served as a formidable barrier to the truth for more than half a century.

Chapter by solidly referenced chapter, Butz applies the scholar's rigorous technique to every major aspect of the Six Million legend, carefully explaining his startling conclusion that "the Jews of Europe were not exterminated and there was no German attempt to exterminate them."

Focusing on the postwar "war crimes trials," where the prosecution's evidence was falsified and secured by coercion and even torture, Butz re-examines the very German records so long misrepresented. He re-evaluates the concept and technical feasibility of the legendary extermination gas chambers. Reviewing the demographic statistics, which do not allow for the loss of six million European Jews, he concludes that perhaps a million may have perished in the turmoil of deportation, internment and war.

Maligned by people who have made no effort to read it, bitterly denounced by those unable to refute its thesis, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* has sent shock waves through the academic and political world. So threatening has it been to Zionist interests and the international Holocaust lobby that its open sale has been banned in several countries, including Israel and Germany.

In three important supplements included in this edition, the author reports on key aspects of the still unfolding global Holocaust controversy.

Now in its *tenth* US printing, this classic, semi-underground best seller remains the most widely read revisionist work on the subject. It is must reading for anyone who wants a clear picture of the scope and magnitude of the historical cover-up of the age.

Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. He received his Bachelor of Science and Master of Science degrees in Electrical Engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering. Dr. Butz is the author of numerous technical papers. Since 1980 he has been a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of *The Journal of Historical Review*, published by the Institute for Historical Review.

The Hoax of the Twentieth Century

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Reviews

Probing Look at 'Capital Punishment Industry' Affirms Expertise of Auschwitz Investigator Leuchter

The Execution Protocol: Inside America's Capital Punishment Industry, by Stephen Trombley. Hardcover. New York: Crown, 1992. (Softcover. New York: Anchor Books, 1993.) 342 pages. Photographs. Index.

Reviewed by Mark Weber

When French professor Robert Faurisson and other revisionist skeptics first began asking tough questions about how, precisely, the infamous gas chambers at Auschwitz were built and operated, defenders of the Holocaust story responded by declaring that such inquiries were simply not permissible. In a statement issued in February 1979, and published in the prominent French daily *Le Monde*, a group of 34 French intellectuals boldly declared: "The question of how technically such a mass murder was possible should not be raised. It was technically possible because it occurred... There is not nor can there be a debate over the existence of the gas chambers."

While the Holocaust lobby was suppressing awkward questions about the principal murder weapon used in what is said to be history's greatest crime, skeptics organized their own forensic investigations. The first and most important of these was conducted in February 1988 by an American execution hardware specialist named Fred Leuchter.

In April 1988 Leuchter testified under oath about his investigation and findings at the "Holocaust trial" in Toronto of German-born publisher Ernst Zündel. In a document that is now widely known simply as *The Leuchter Report*, he laid out his findings in detail, explaining each step of his on-site investigation. "It is the best engineering opinion of this author," his *Report* concluded, "that the alleged gas chambers at the inspected sites could not have then been, or now be, utilized or seriously considered to function as execution gas chambers."

Leuchter's findings, which have been subsequently confirmed by other independent forensic investigators, shatter the keystone of the Holocaust legend — the Auschwitz gassing story.

With many tens of thousands of copies of *The Leuchter Report* in circulation around the world, in all the major languages, and through speeches (including addresses at the IHR Conferences of 1989, 1990 and 1992), the impact of this one man's work has been tremendous.

Damage Control

Alarmed by this, the "Never Forgive, Never Forget" brigade wasted no time taking counter-measures. "Nazi hunter" Beate Klarsfeld announced that Fred Leuchter "has to understand that in denying the Holocaust, he cannot remain unpunished."

Jewish organizations launched a vicious smear campaign to destroy his reputation and ability to make a living. Leading the charge was Shelly Shapiro and her group, "Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice," which called Leuchter a fraud and imposter, claiming he lacked qualifications as an execution equipment specialist. (For more on this, see the Winter 1992-93 *Journal*, pp. 421-492.)

With the cooperation of mainstream journalists and editors, this campaign was successful. Leuchter's contracts with state governments to manufacture, install and service execution hardware were cancelled, and he was driven into semi-hiding, forced from his home in Massachusetts to take up private work elsewhere. No American has suffered more for his defiance of the Holocaust lobby.

Incontestable Expertise

In spite of the widely disseminated lies about his competence, the facts are incontestable. A feature article in *The Atlantic Monthly* (Feb. 1990), for example, factually described Leuchter as

> the nation's only commercial supplier of execution equipment ... A trained and accomplished engineer, he is versed in all types of execution equipment. He makes lethal-injection machines, gas chambers, and gallows, as well as electrocution systems ...

Similarly, a lengthy *New York Times* article (Oct. 13, 1990), complete with a front-page photo of Leuchter, called him "the nation's leading adviser on capital punishment."

An In-Depth Look

The most detailed treatment of Leuchter and his career is provided in *The Execution Protocol*, a

examination of the US system of capital punishment by an English-born writer and film-maker who lives in Los Angeles and London. This disturbing but fascinating book is based on extensive interviews with individuals on both sides of what author Stephen Trombley calls "America's Capital Punishment Industry."

The book's prominent treatment of Leuchter relies heavily on a lengthy interview with him at his home and workplace near Boston. Included are photographs showing Leuchter by the control module of his lethal injection machine, and pictures of an electric chair and an lethal injection apparatus he built.

Refuting the main lies that have been spread about him, Trombley confirms (p. 9) that Leuchter is, in fact, "America's first and foremost supplier of execution hardware. His products include electric chairs, gas chambers, gallows, and lethal injection machines. He offers design, construction, installation, staff training and maintenance." Leuchter also has a number of impressive inventions to his credit, Trombley notes (pp. 35, 71), including a "modular electric chair — the most advanced ever built," and the lethal injection machine "by which executions are now carried out in five states."

Trombley takes a close look at each of five methods of execution that are used in the three dozen states where capital crimes are punished by death: lethal injection, electric chair, gas chamber, firing squad and hanging. Tracing the history and problems of each method, he explains in grim detail just how things can go wrong in an execution. As it happens, quite a few executions are botched, resulting in deaths that are painful for the prisoner and terrifying for witnesses.

If the rope used to hang a prisoner is not just the right length, thickness or strength, the prisoner can slowly and painfully strangle to death (rather than die instantly with a broken neck). In some botched cases the prisoner is decapitated, or the rope snaps, causing the terrified but still conscious prisoner to plunge to the ground. Firing squads sometimes miss the target pinned to the prisoner's heart, causing him to slowly bleed to death. Even under ideal conditions, firing squad executions are messy. An improperly built or maintained electric chair will literally fry the condemned prisoner, causing excruciating pain. Gas chamber executions are especially likely to be botched, with the condemned prisoner dying in painful, drawn out agony.

Gas Chamber Dangers

Killing someone in a gas chamber is very dangerous for those who carry out the execution, above all because the body of the dead prisoner is saturated with lethal gas. After the execution, explains Leuchter (p. 98), "You go in. The inmate has to be completely washed down with chlorine bleach or with ammonia. The poison exudes right out through his skin. And if you gave the body to an undertaker, you'd *kill* the undertaker. You've got to go in, you've got to completely wash the body."

Fred Leuchter at the 1992 IHR Conference

Bill Armontrout, warden of the Missouri State Penitentiary in Jefferson City, confirms the danger (p. 102): "One of the things that cyanide gas does, it goes in the pores of your skin. You hose the body down, see. You have to use rubber gloves, and you hose the body down to decontaminate it before you do anything [else]." (Armontrout also testified as an expert witness in the 1988 Zündel trial in Toronto, confirming Leuchter's expertise as America's foremost gas chamber specialist.)

Gas chambers shouldn't be used at all, says Leuchter (p. 13): "They're dangerous. They're dangerous to the people who have to use them, and they're dangerous for the witnesses. They ought to take all of them and cut them in half with a chain saw and get rid of them." Of the five execution methods used in the United States, he prefers electrocution because it is the least painful, least problem prone, and least costly.

With a career built on the motto "Capital punishment, not capital torture," Leuchter takes pride in his work. He is glad to be able to ensure that condemned prisoners die painlessly, that the personnel who carry out executions are not endangered, and that taxpayer dollars are saved.

Stephen Trombley

Fair Treatment

Trombley reports with remarkable fairness on Leuchter's investigations of "gas chambers" at the sites of wartime camps, his testimony in the 1988 Zündel trial, and the campaign against him, including his arrest and expulsion from Britain in November 1991.

Writing with praiseworthy restraint, Trombley volunteers no opinion of his own about Leuchter's controversial investigations on Zündel's behalf, or his motives in speaking out on this emotion-laden issue, but instead permits the execution hardware expert to speak for himself. Leuchter told the author that he when he agreed to carry out the Auschwitz investigation for Zündel, "he fully expected to find evidence of gas chambers" and "was surprised that he didn't." (p. 93)

In response to the author's question, "Do you believe that the Holocaust happened?," Leuchter said (p. 94):

> I believed there had been a Holocaust. I believed I would find gas chambers. I told Ernst Zündel — he was positive I wouldn't find them — I told him that if I did find them, or even that [if] these facilities had the capability of being gas chambers, I was going to report such. I was like most Americans and probably most people all over the world, they believed that it happened. I believed what I'd been taught in school. I know that the facilities that everybody points to weren't gas chambers.
>
> I think probably there was a Holocaust, but I think it depends upon how one defines "Holocaust." There are serious questions that have to be asked and answered about that whole period in our history ...

Because the author was sloppy in checking facts, this book is not without defects. A good example is the way he confuses British historian David Irving with French scholar Robert Faurisson (pp. 84-85). Trombley tells readers that Irving

> had long maintained that a study of executions by lethal gas in the United States would help to "prove" that the Nazi gas chambers never existed. He argued that American prisons are the only place where cyanide gas has been used to kill human beings deliberately; and that American prison wardens who have carried out gas executions could be important sources of evidence which could disprove the Holocaust "myth."

Trombley goes on to assert that Irving contacted Leuchter to carry out the investigation for the Zündel trial. In fact, it was Faurisson who had long stressed the importance of US gas chambers in understanding the alleged wartime German gas facilities. And it was Faurisson, not Irving, who first established contact with Leuchter in early 1988.

Trombley also asserts that *The Leuchter Report* has been published in the United States by the "Institute for Historical Research" (p. 87). While it is true that the Institute for Historical *Review* distributes the *Report*, it is actually published by others.

In spite of such flaws, this well written and balanced work performs an important service, not least because it authoritatively establishes that Fred Leuchter was indeed "America's first and foremost supplier of execution hardware" at the time he carried out his forensic on-site investigation of the Auschwitz "gas chambers." *The Execution Protocol* thus vindicates Leuchter and those who have defended him, and debunks the most mendacious of the Holocaust lobby's many lies about him.

Hostility Toward Damaging Truth

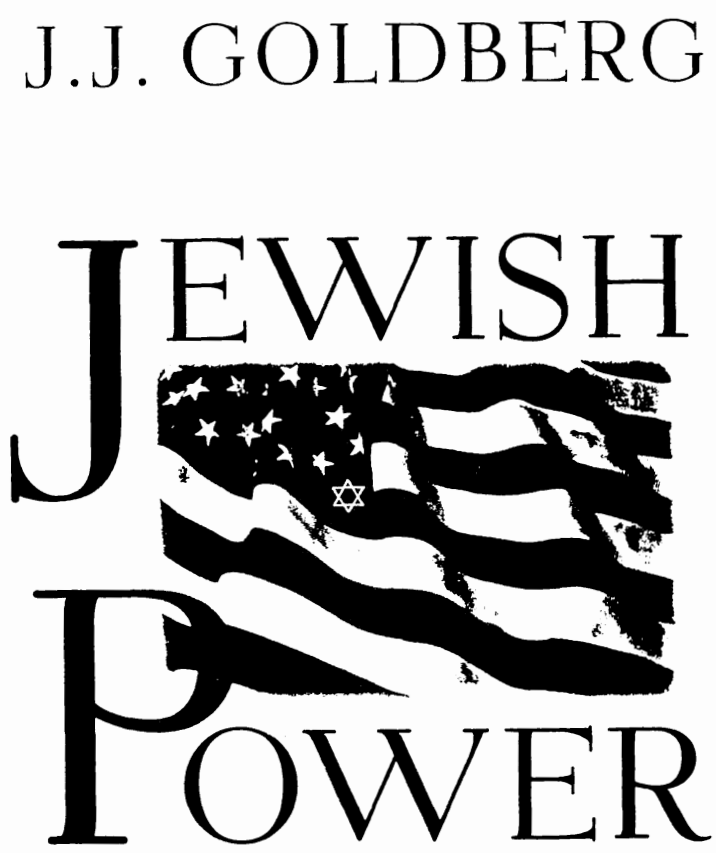
"... Men seek to avoid being deceived less than they seek to avoid being injured by deception. They detest illusion not so much as the noxious consequences of certain types of illusion. In a similar, limited sense, men also want the truth; they welcome agreeable, life-sustaining consequences of truth, are indifferent toward pure knowledge that brings no consequences, and are downright hostile toward possibly damaging and destructive truth."

— Friedrich Nietzsche, *Ueber Wahrheit und Lüge im aussermoralischen Sinne* ("On Truth and Falsehood in the Extra-Moral Sense"), 1873.

A Revealing But Flawed Look at Jewish Political Clout

Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment, by Jonathan J. Goldberg. Addison-Wesley, 1996. Hardcover. 436 pages. Source references. Bibliography. Index.

Reviewed by Shawn L. Twing



Jewish Power, by J. J. Goldberg, is an insider's eye-opening and often startlingly frank discussion of Jewish influence in American politics, and an examination of the historical factors that have made that influence possible. What is extraordinary about *Jewish Power* is the blatant double standard it illustrates. Had the same book been written by a non-Jewish author, it would certainly have been dismissed as the product of anti-Semitic bias and a predisposition for conspiracy theories. Supporting this assertion are several notable examples.

In chapter 9, "'I Am Joseph Your Brother': Jews and Public Office," Goldberg discusses the presence of several Jewish Americans in key political positions, and how their religious/ethnic identity has affected their performance on the job. Of particular interest were the Bush administration officials in charge of the Middle East peace process under Secretary of State James Baker. Describing Dennis Ross, Aaron David Miller and Daniel Kurtzer of the State Department, and Richard Haass of the National Security Council as "Baker's Jewish peace team" (p. 231), Goldberg points out that "Haass was educated in a Reform [Judaism] congregation," that "Ross, Miller, and Kurtzer all were active synagogue goers," and that "Miller and Kurtzer both maintained kosher homes and sent their children to Jewish parochial schools." Does being Jewish affect their performance on the job? One of the four, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said, "We act in America's interest, but through a prism."

Double Standard

These same words, reported by a non-Jew, certainly would have evoked charges of anti-Semitism, and would have made it difficult to get the book published, much less distributed. Analyzing the motives of prominent Jews in politics, or even commenting on their religious identity, simply is unacceptable for non-Jews, a double standard that makes it increasingly difficult to communicate frankly.

Nevertheless, the fact that Baker created an entirely Jewish peace process team also is significant in Goldberg's eyes. Two members of that team, Dennis Ross and Aaron David Miller, were held over to lead the Clinton administration's efforts to bring peace to the Middle East, along with US Ambassador to Israel Martin Indyk.

If indeed they view their jobs "through a prism," is it reasonable to assume that the United States really is an "honest broker" for peace? Imagine, if you can, the reaction that would follow an announcement that, for its second term, the Clinton administration was appointing a Middle East peace process team comprising entirely Muslim Arab Americans: American Muslim Council executive director Abdurahman Alamoudi, Council on American Islamic Relations executive director Nihad Awad and president Mohammed Mehdi of the National Council on Islamic Affairs.

In fact the comparison is particularly apt because of the present team, US Ambassador to

---

Shawn L. Twing is news editor of *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (P.O. Box 53062, Washington, DC 20009). This review is reprinted from the June-July 1997 issue of *The Washington Report*.

Israel Martin Indyk is a former official of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), and a founder and first executive director of AIPAC's think-tank spin-off, the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, and Ross is a former fellow of that Institute. Even author Goldberg seems baffled at why all of the top members of America's Middle East peace team must be not only Jewish, but also closely identified personally with Israel and its myriad of supporting organizations in the national capital.

Some of Goldberg's statements describing the political clout of AIPAC, Israel's all-powerful Washington, DC, lobby, and other organizations representing organized American Jewry, also very likely would be challenged if made by a non-Jewish author. For example:

- "there have been threats to those in Washington who opposed Israeli policy: the senators and representatives sent down to defeat, like Charles Percy and Paul Findley, for defying the Jewish lobby" (p. 5)
- "AIPAC offered Jewish activists access to genuine power, rubbing shoulders with senators and representatives and bullying the White House" (p. 224)
- "[AIPAC] activists learn to 'bundle' donations, extracting campaign contributions from friends, relatives, and co-workers, and delivering them to the candidate in a bundle so as to make a stronger impression" (p. 224)
- "It is one of the worst-kept secrets in American Jewish politics that the campaign contribution is a major key to Jewish power" (p. 266)
- "The most notorious use of Jewish campaign money is not to support candidates who have been friendly, but to oppose those who have been unfriendly. On several occasions in recent years, pro-Israel activists have mobilized from around the country to defeat a lawmaker who crossed some line regarding Israel" (p. 269)
- "Defeating [Sen. Charles] Percy for re-election in 1984 became virtually a national crusade among pro-Israel activists" (p. 270)

All of these things have been reported by the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* and other media, yet they are denied routinely by pro-Israel activists, who dismiss such statements as conspiratorial and anti-Semitic. That Goldberg documents them convincingly, and in context, is useful in itself. It also validates non-Jews who have reported these facts for years. The difference, however, is that Goldberg apparently sees nothing wrong with AIPAC's actions.

Goldberg makes a factual error in reference to a lawsuit brought first against AIPAC in 1988 and later against the US Federal Election Commission's handling of AIPAC by seven retired government officials, including *Washington Report* publisher Andrew I. Killgore and executive editor Richard H. Curtiss. Goldberg writes on page 268 that the case was "dismissed for lack of evidence." In fact, only the case's complaint against 27 political action committees established and directed by AIPAC was dropped. The remainder of the case against AIPAC resulted in an FEC decision that although AIPAC was functioning as a "political committee," since electioneering was not AIPAC's principle function the FEC would not force it to comply with the disclosure laws that such committees must observe. Subsequently, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals ruled 8-2 on December 6 [1996] that the FEC must enforce its own rules against AIPAC. Rather than having the marathon case against it dismissed, therefore, AIPAC appears to have lost the suit, and may have to open its *receipts* and expenditures to FEC scrutiny, something AIPAC has vowed never to do.

Media Influence

Another controversial topic Goldberg addresses is Jewish influence in the American media. In chapter 11, entitled "We Have Met the Enemy and It is Us: Jews and the Media," he writes (p. 280):

> Jews are represented in the media business in numbers far out of proportion to their share of the population. Studies have shown that while Jews make up little more than five percent of the working press nationwide — hardly more than their share of the population — they make up one fourth or more of the writers, editors, and producers in America's "elite media," including network news divisions, the top newsweeklies and the four leading daily papers (*New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Wall Street Journal*)

Goldberg points out, however, that American Jewish activists describe the media as "a major source of anti-Jewish bias" (p. 280). Goldberg devotes the rest of the chapter to reconciling the contradictory themes of pro-Israel and anti-Israel bias, and in so doing provides penetrating insights into the question of Jewish influence in America's media.

"The case for pro-Jewish bias rests largely on the work of a handful of influential writers who regularly take it upon themselves to defend Jews and Israel and to attack their enemies," Goldberg writes (on page 290). The "short list" of those writers, according to Goldberg, includes *New York Times* columnists William Safire and A.M. Rosenthal, and Richard Cohen of *The Washington Post*.

Indicative of their "verbal firepower," according to Goldberg, was a 1993 column by Safire, whom Goldberg describes as "one of the best connected and

most feared members of the Washington press corps," that "sank the nomination of Admiral Bobby Inman as director of the Central Intelligence Agency, largely by accusing Inman of being anti-Israel" (p. 290). Because Goldberg does not elaborate, it is worth quoting two sentences from the February-March 1994 *Washington Report* (p. 28) that fill in the details:

> Bill Safire wrote in a column published in *The New York Times* on Dec. 23 that Bobby Ray Inman had restricted information available to Israel from US intelligence agencies, had fingered Israel as the source of the false "Libyan Hit Squad" story that turned the White House and key government agencies into fortified bunkers, and had supplied the information for then Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger's stern assessment for the sentencing judge of the extent of damage caused US intelligence agencies and agents by convicted spy Jonathan Jay Pollard. From the moment they read Safire's column, Israel's apologists in the US media knew what to do.

Although the story itself is not new, Goldberg's frank discussion of the power of a Safire column to "sink" a cabinet-level nomination simply by accusing the nominee of hostility to Israel, is both enlightening and frightening. Goldberg makes it clear that this "Jewish power," in his own words, is tangible political power recognized both by those who oppose it and those who wield it

In his discussion of Jews in the media, Goldberg repeatedly refers to Israel's "warts," a peculiar term he uses to describe the country's darker side. In the reviewer's opinion, Goldberg's casual use of the word is subtly misleading. "Warts" are merely cosmetic afflictions, but confiscating Palestinian land, razing Palestinian homes, legalized torture, military attacks against civilian populations, and other examples of systematic brutality by Israelis against their Arab neighbors might more accurately be described as a "cancer" within the body of the young nation.

In the final analysis, Goldberg's *Jewish Power* is both well-written and informative. His thesis is that although the organized American Jewish community has grown extraordinarily powerful, individual US Jews still see their community as weak and ineffective. The examples he provides, and the matter-of-fact tone he adopts to make his points, are more than convincing.

Goldberg devotes the prologue to *Jewish Power* to George Bush's now famous Sept. 12, 1991, speech to the American public urging Congress to postpone granting Israel's request for $10 billion in loan guarantees. Bush hoped to link them to a moratorium on Jewish settlements in occupied territories and to Israeli participation in the upcoming Madrid conference. When he came under intense pressure from the pro-Israel lobby and members of Congress to acquiesce to Israel's request immediately and unconditionally, Bush took his case directly to the American people. In an unprecedented speech on national television, he explained: "I heard today there were something like a thousand lobbyists on the Hill working on the other side of the question," and that he was only "one little guy down here" trying to work against what he described as "some powerful forces."

While Goldberg details the Jewish community's overwhelmingly negative reaction to the president's remarks, he seems curiously oblivious to Bush's supporters, suggesting they are drawn solely from the extremist fringe. "By Monday morning's mail, the president had accumulated a small mound of Jew-bashing congratulations," Goldberg writes, charging that the president inadvertently "had touched an unforeseen chord in the American heartland." What Goldberg neglects to mention in his book, however, is that public opinion polls immediately after Bush's speech showed that 86 percent of the American public supported the president, a reaction hardly confined to the political fringes.

For all of its merits, it is unfortunate that Goldberg's book does not address some cruder exercises of power by some American Jewish leaders. Examples are the often venomous criticism of journalists and others who report serious Israeli abuses of human rights, and the practice of labeling such critics "anti-Semites" if they are not Jewish, and "self-haters" if they are. Such silencing of objective political, journalistic and academic discussion of US support for Israel, and its consequences for American national interests, does not serve freedom of speech in the United States. Nor, in the long ran, does it serve the best interests of Israel or the American Jewish community.

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Letters

The Larger Picture

The recent Iraq crisis, with the Clinton administration's zealous campaign to persuade everyone of the need for military action against that Arab country, is helping many Americans better to see the larger picture. I find that people are asking questions and saying things that would have been unthinkable a few years ago. Everywhere, it seems, people are challenging, with increasing fervor, the whole rotten edifice of Zionism and our relationship with Israel, along with the many lies on which they are built.

Although I pray that the Clinton administration does not unleash the full fury of modern high-tech weaponry against the helpless people of Iraq, perhaps such a slaughter might at least help everyone see much more clearly just how beholden our political leaders have become to alien interests.

J.M.
New York City

A Relief

I am an independent scholar, and my main field is 20th-century Germany. Seeking information about the Nazi period, I joined several H-lists [Internet e-mail discussion forums], including H-Holocaust (which is where I found your URL [Internet address]).

I finally quit it, sending a rather acerbic message to the list administrator about calling this a "scholarly" list. Actually, it was nothing but diatribes, *ad hominem* attacks against anyone who dares say anything good about anything German, and so forth. It was really horrible. I began to wonder about the motivation of those who so harshly demand that everyone agree with them or be branded Evil (anti-Semitic), who forever hound and want to punish the Germans, and, in short, who endlessly promote hatred in a world already full of it — and to what end?

Anyway, I had my fill of that nonsense, and resigned from that revolting list. I also decided to look into what they are so afraid of — that is, your information. Coming across your Web page was a relief! Lo and behold, I find that your information more closely fits with the conclusions I had been reaching through my own research.

For years I had bought into the "official" propaganda line, which requires that one never argue with Jews about Holocaust matters, but instead bow dutifully to all the hatred they promulgate in the name of "How We Suffered." Because of their sufferings half a century ago, they insist on all sorts of exemptions and special privileges. I found it amazing that Germany itself makes revisionism a crime, and even awards prizes and honors to authors (such as Daniel Goldhagen) who spew hatred against Germans.

M.S.
[by Internet]
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

A New Taboo for a New Era

Goldwin Smith's essay, "The Vexing 'Jewish Question'," [Jan.-Feb. 1998 *Journal*] may strike some readers as astonishing in its frankness. But such forthright writing on this now taboo-laden subject was not at all unusual 80-90 years ago. Until the 1930s, prominent scholars were still relatively free to write candidly of the Jewish role in society.

For example, one contemporary of Smith who expressed similar views on this subject was John Clark Ridpath, LL.D. Among other works, this respected historian was the author of the *Cyclopedia of Universal History* as well as an impressive nine-volume scholarly work, *Ridpath's History of the World*, published in Cincinnati in 1910.

In his *History of the World* (vol. 9, pp. 208-09) Ridpath wrote:

> The Jew has become the money lender *par excellence* of the civilized world. Not in one country only, but in all nations, he has discovered the sovereignty of gold, and has availed himself of this knowledge to an extent which is but dimly understood, even by publicists and historians ... His control of the money supply and distribution is hardly any longer disputed in any of the capitals of Europe or America ... The Hebrew has his monarchy. It is the kingdom of gold ... He is the emperor of mankind ...
>
> The monarchy of money is under the almost absolute dominion of the Jewish race.

Since the Second World War, and at least in large part as a consequence of the outcome of that terrible conflict, it has become nearly impossible for "respectable" scholars to write frankly, much less critically, about the enduring problem of relations in society between Jews and non-Jews. Instead, everyone is now more or less obliged to start from the premise that anti-Jewish sentiment is irrational and unrelated to Jewish behavior.

E. Svedlund
Seattle

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space. Write: Editor, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, *or e-mail us at* editor@ihr.org.

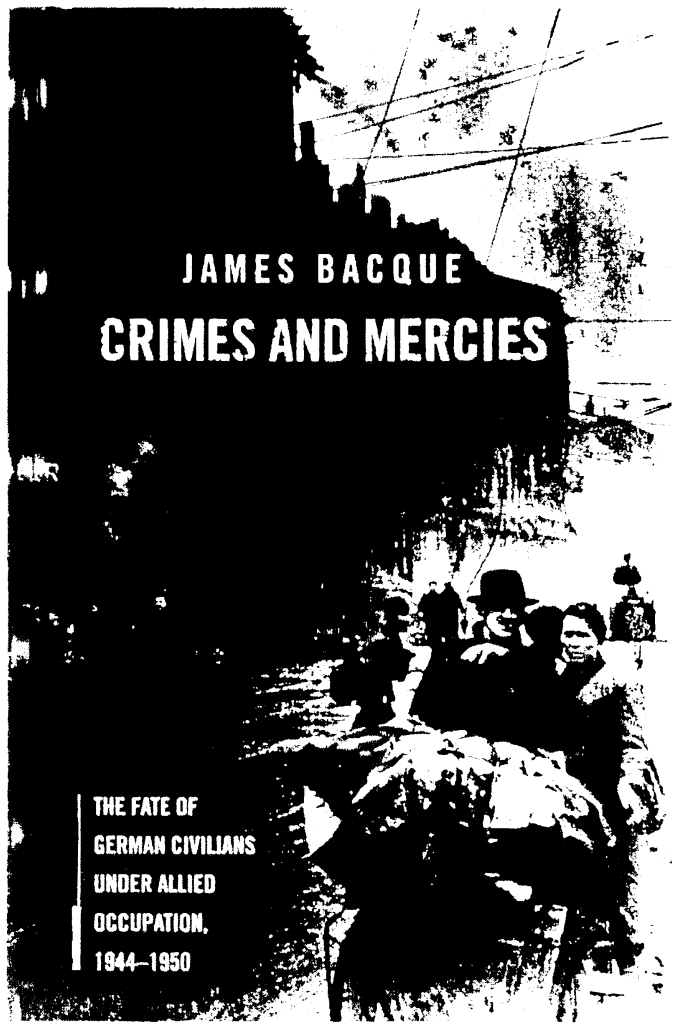
A Concealed Holocaust!

Crimes and Mercies

In this powerful new book, Canadian historian James Bacque presents detailed evidence, much of it newly uncovered, to show that some nine million Germans died as a result of Allied starvation and expulsion policies in the first five years after the Second World War — a total far greater than the long-accepted figures.

These deaths are still being concealed and denied, writes Bacque, especially by American and British authorities.

Crimes and Mercies — a handsome hardcover work, illustrated and well-referenced — is a devastating indictment of Allied, and especially American, occupation policy in defeated postwar Germany.



Some 15 million Germans fled or were brutally expelled in the greatest act of "ethnic cleansing" in history, a human catastrophe in which some two million were killed or otherwise perished. Then, under the notorious "Morgenthau Plan" and its successor policies, the Allies carried out a massive looting of Germany, and even prevented German civilians from growing sufficient food to feed themselves.

Bacque shows, for example, that General Eisenhower, in violation of the Geneva Convention, in May 1945 forbade German civilians to take food to prisoners starving to death in American camps. He threatened the death penalty for anyone feeding prisoners.

Bacque also describes the terrors of the postwar camps in Poland where children and other German civilians lost their lives.

Written with fervor, compassion and humanity, and making use of never-before cited records in Moscow archives, James Bacque exposes a little-known but important chapter of 20th century history. He builds upon the revelations of his startling 1989 study, *Other Losses*, which presented evidence to show that hundreds of thousands of German prisoners of war died as a result of cruel and illegal mistreatment by American, British and French authorities.

American historian Alfred M. de Zayas, author of *Nemesis at Potsdam* and *The German Expellees*, provides a valuable foreword.

Crimes and Mercies:

The Fate of German Civilians Under Allied Occupation, 1944-1950

by James Bacque

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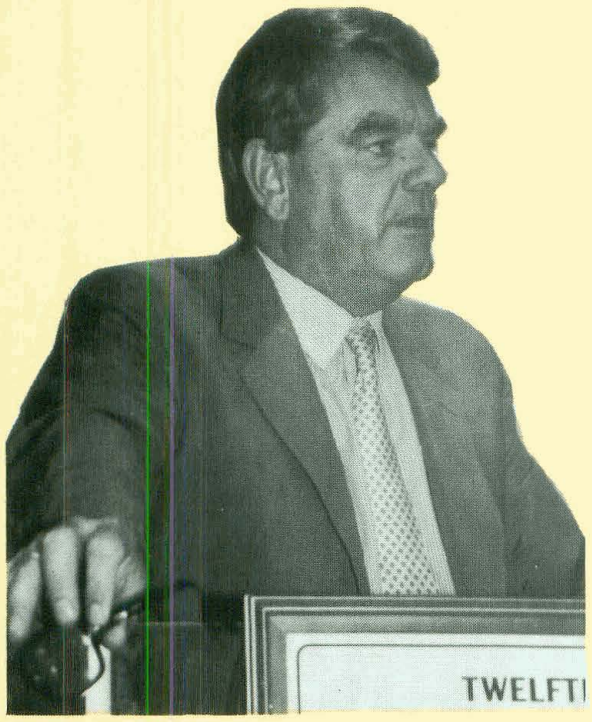

Defying an international censorship campaign, here at last is David Irving's

Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich

This stunning new biography made headlines around the world in April when one of America's most prominent publishers — succumbing to what the London *Times* called "prolonged protests from Jewish pressure groups" — broke its contract and halted publication. Before it gave in to a vicious campaign that included death threats, St. Martin's Press was praising *Goebbels* as **"monumental in scope** ... insightful ... draws on masses of previously unpublished materials ... Masterful ... **masterpiece of research as well as a compelling story** ..."

The *New York Times Book Review* calls this a "Rolls Royce" of a book, "filled with costly color photographs" and written in "lively and compelling" prose.

Now you can enjoy your own copy of Irving's brilliant product of seasoned scholarship and gifted writing. You'll treasure this sumptuous 740-page hardcover masterpiece, with more than a hundred photos, many in full color.

Typical of the grudging praise that *Goebbels* and Irving have been receiving in Britain is the commentary of George Stern in the *Literary Review*:

> As with his books on Hitler and Göring, Irving tries to show how events looked to Goebbels. He is the first to use Goebbels' full diary, 75,000 pages, recently found in Moscow. He has interviewed many people, including surviving Nazis, and has used innumerable memoirs and diaries. The result is unique, as though Goebbels had a video recorder on his shoulder... Irving supplies well over a hundred photographs, some as sharp and as colourful as if they were taken yesterday ... Irving's trademark research into original manuscripts is uniquely impressive.

In his *Daily Telegraph* review, British historian John Keegan wrote:

> David Irving knows more than anyone alive about the German side of the Second World War. He discovers archives unknown to official historians and turns their contents into densely footnoted narratives that consistently provoke controversy ... His greatest achievement is *Hitler's War*, which has been described as 'the autobiography the Führer did not write' and is indispensable to anyone seeking to understand the war in the round. Now he has turned his attention to Joseph Goebbels ... The result is a characteristic Irving book: 530 pages of text and 160 pages of relentless references ...

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